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DEUS PRIMUS





LONDON: WILLIAM TEGG.

ABEL REDEVIVUS;

OR,

THE DEAD YET SPEAKING.

THE LIVES AND DEATHS OF THE MODERN DIVINES.

BY

THOMAS FULLER, D.D.,

AUTHOR OF THE WORTHIES OF ENGLAND, THE HOLY AND THE PROFANE STATE, THE CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN, ETC., ETC.;

ASSISTED BY

SEVERAL ABLE AND LEARNED MEN.

A NEW EDITION, WITH NOTES, BY

WILLIAM NICHOLS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH FORTY-THREE PORTRAITS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

Abel Redevivus * was published originally in 1651; and has not hitherto, I believe, been reprinted, though it is a book which well merits that honour. Its full title was as follows: "*Abel Redevivus*: or the Dead yet speaking. The Lives and Deaths of the modern Divines; written by several able and learned Men, whose Names ye shall find in the Epistle to the Reader; and now digested into one Volume, for the Benefit and Satisfaction of all those that desire to be acquainted with the Paths of Piety and Virtue. Printed by Tho. Brudenell, for John Stafford, dwelling in Bride's Churchyard, near Fleet Street. 1651." Only a few of these Lives are from the pen of Fuller himself: but these few are gems; and the whole mass of matter has an intrinsic worth which has been rightly appreciated by the succession of lovers of good books, down to the present day. Complete copies of the old edition are rarely to be found on sale, and can be obtained only at a very high price.

The object of the publisher, in issuing this new edition, is, to present an accurate reprint of a valuable book in a convenient form, and to place it within the reach of a larger circle of readers. In preparing it for the press, I have thought it best, while adhering strictly to the old diction, to modernize the spelling, so as to render the narratives more easy to be understood. The bookworm or bibliomaniac can still enjoy in the old edition the pleasures of dingy paper, various and tho-

* *Redivivus* is the correct form; but I have retained the spelling of the original title-page.

roughly unsystematic spellings,* and printers' blunders innumerable: but most readers will, I think, prefer to have the book in as correct a form as possible.

While desirous of throwing light on obscure passages, I have endeavoured to avoid a multiplicity of notes, which, unless absolutely necessary, are but an eyesore. For this reason I have, in the case of some obsolete words, added their modern equivalents in the text, enclosed in brackets [ ]. A large proportion of these Lives are translations, in an abridged form, from Melchior Adams's *Vitæ Germanorum Theologorum*. But, in many instances, the translators, being either too idle or too ignorant to do otherwise, have retained the *Latin* names of places,—much to the bewilderment of the English reader, who is puzzled, instead of being enlightened by being informed that some worthy resided at "Tygure" or "Tigurum," or preached at "Argentine" or "Argentoratum." In such cases, to prevent the necessity of a wearisome search in dictionaries, I have usually appended the "vulgar" name, —[Zurich], or [Strasburg]. I need scarcely add that it has cost me much labour to identify some of these transformed localities; and I acknowledge with gratitude much help in this task from Dr. Cotton's "Typographical Gazetteer," which is invaluable to the editor of such books as this. Let me also here record my regret that we have as yet no English biographical and historical dictionary at all comparable to the old French one of Moreri; to whose memory I hereby make my best obeisance.

In Fuller's "Epistle to the Reader" will be found a statement of the authorship of these Lives: without which, indeed, his own share in them might easily have been ascertained. For few biographers have ever touched the chief points of a good man's career with a more graceful and instructive pen;

* Some of these, founded on phonetic or stenographic principles, are very comical: for instance, *Cappa-pæ* for *cap-à-pie*; *Mungumry* for *Montgomery*; *Mr. piece* for *masterpiece*.

while it seems to have been almost impossible for him to restrain the wit and humour, and the faculty of apt illustration, with which he was so happily gifted. Most of the writers of these sketches appear to have been not at all partial to marginal notes and references : but there is one remarkable exception, in the Life of Dr. Andrew Willet; (vol. ii., pp. 314–29 ;) the learned author of which, Dr. Peter Smith, seems to have been afraid to advance the most commonplace remark,—as to the shortness of life, or the blessing of a good education,—without supporting the position with some classical or patristic authority. Some of the rhymes appended to each Life are quaint and amusing; but several of them are such arrant doggerel that the lovers of Quarles will protest against too many being fathered upon him.

Little need be said to commend to the reader's notice the Lives of Englishmen contained in these volumes : they will be found to be full of interest. After perusing the Lives of the foreign Reformers, it will be more easy to comprehend the strength and solidity of that great work of which Luther was the main pillar. Again and again we find these noble men—having imbibed with intense thirst whatever learning the age afforded—leaving all worldly good for conscience' sake, and devoting their energies to the spread of the newly unburied truth. There was especially in the German Reformers a robustness of character, resulting as well from nationality as from depth of conviction, to which we in England owe perhaps more than we have yet acknowledged.

WILLIAM NICHOLS.

6, Stratheden Villas, Hackney,
1867.



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THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

1. "Such honour," saith the Psalmist,* "have all His saints." "*His* saints" emphatically; Divine Providence foreseeing that in after ages some would usurp the title of saintship to whom it did not belong. "His saints" exclusively; casting out saints traitors, as Becket and Garnet; saint hypocrites, and many others; who, in the same sense as *auri sacra fames*, may be termed *sacri*, or *sancti*, saints.

2. But, what "honour have all His saints?" Mark what went before,—"as it is written;" but by whom and where? Though chapters and verses be of later date, the Holy Spirit might have cited the book. O no! He, to quicken our industry, refers us to the Word at large. However, "search the Scriptures," and therein we shall meet with many honours afforded to the saints; both whilst they were living, and when they were dead; on which alone we shall insist.

3. This honour also is twofold,—either what *God*, or what *man*, bestoweth upon them. The latter only is proper for our present purpose, and brancheth itself into honour done to their *bodies*, or to their *memories*.

4. Of the former is their decent interment, accord-

* Psalm cxlix. 9.

ing to their quality. Thus Jehoiada was promoted to a sepulchre amongst the kings of Judah; * Hezekiah (whose signal holiness was paramount whilst he was living) had his tomb advanced the highest of all other kings.† However, this "honour" hath not been universal to "all saints:" many have missed thereof, especially in time of persecution; as appears by the complaint of the Psalmist.

5. Honour to their memories is more certain, being sometimes paid them very abundantly, even from those who formerly were so niggardly and covetous as not to afford them a good word in their life-time:

.....*Defunctus amabitur idem.*

Many are made converts by the godly ends of good men; as the centurion himself,‡ who attended and ordered the crucifying of Christ, after His expiring, brake forth into that testimony of Him, "Verily this was the Son of God." So, such as rail at, revile, curse, condemn, persecute, execute pious people, speak other language of them when such men have passed the purgation of death, and confess them faithful and sincere servants of God.

6. The last "honour" is imitation of their virtuous examples. The Papists brag that Stapleton, their great controversial divine, was born on that very day whereon Sir Thomas More was put to death: but Providence so ordereth it, that out of the ashes of dead saints many living ones do spring and sprout, by following the pious precedents of such godly persons deceased. This was a main motive of

* 2 Chron. xxiv. 16. † 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.
‡ Matt. xxvii. 54.

publishing the ensuing treatise, to furnish our present age with a magazine of religious patterns for their imitation.

7. There is a monument in Palestine, which at Modinum * was erected for the Maccabees, consisting of seven pedestals, and on them as many pyramids, under the bottoms whereof their bodies lie buried, whilst their tops serve (even at this day) for sea-marks to direct mariners, sailing in the Mediterranean, towards the haven of Joppa in the Holy Land. Not unlike whereunto, for the use and service thereof, is this following discourse; made partly to do right to the memory of these heroes deceased, and partly to guide and conduct us to arrive at the same happiness, by steering our course according to the purity of their lives, and constancy of their deaths.

8. Here may we find many excellent preachers, who first reformed themselves, that their doctrine might take the better effect in others. For as one who would most mannerly intimate to another any spot or foulness in his face, doth wipe his own face in the same place, that so the other, beholding him, may collect where and how to amend any thing that is amiss; so these worthy ministers gave others to understand how to rectify their faults, by exemplary cleansing and clearing their own lives and conversations.

9. But, most remarkable are many confessors (here briefly described) for their constancy in persecution. It was, as Hegesippus reports, an observation of Antoninus the emperor, that the Christians were most courageous and confident always in earthquakes, whilst his own heathen soldiers were at such acci-

* Adrichomius *De Terrâ Sanctâ.*

dents most fearful and dispirited. The same holds true here in many worthy saints: in such concussions and commotions of church and state, wherein all was almost turned upside down, they acquitted themselves most fearless and valiant, still preferring a good conscience; a grace very worthy of our imitation, especially in this age, when the very "foundations are shaken," and most at a loss how to behave themselves. God grant, when men are "at their wits' end," they may be at the *beginning of their faith*, valiantly to hold out in the truth!

10. But the valour of some martyrs showed most exalted patience. The Roman gladiators, set forth and designed to death, when despairing to come off alive, took all their care *honestè decumbere*, "to fall down in a decent posture;" so contriving their bodies into a modest method, that no uncomeliness might therein be discovered. So was it in these martyrs; (and ought to be in us, if called into their condition;) all their solicitousness was, taking leave of life, to entertain Death with so sweet a deportment that they might betray no unworthiness or meanness in mind, in their latter end.

11. So much for the occasion and matter of this work. As for the makers thereof, they are many. Some done by Dr. Featley, now at rest with God; *viz.*, the Lives of Jewel, Reinolds, Abbot, and divers others. Some by that reverend and learned divine, Master Gataker; *viz.*, the Lives of Peter Martyr, Bale, Whitgift, Ridley, Whitaker, Parker,* and

* That p. 523, [vol. ii., p. 11,] and not that p. 328, [vol. ii., Appendix,] which was printed before a more exact copy was procured. [It should also here be noted that *two* Lives of Andreas Gerardus were given; one of which will be found (under the name Hyperius) on p. 310 of vol. i.; and the other, a longer one, on p. 261 of vol. ii. of this edition.—Ed.]

others. Dr. Willet's Life by Dr. Smith, his son-in-law. Erasmus's Life by the reverend bishop of Kilmore.* The Life of Bishop Andrewes, by the judicious and industrious, my worthy friend Master Isaacson. And my meanness wrote all the lives of Berengarius, Huss, Jerome of Prague, Archbishop Cranmer, Master Fox, Perkins, Junius, &c. Save the most part of the poetry was done by Master Quarles, father and son, sufficiently known for their abilities therein. The rest the stationer got transcribed out of Mr. Holland and other authors.

What remains but to condole the sad condition of our days, coming short of the former age, and daily waning?—thinness in eminent divines, caused from our present distractions. We read, Joshua iii. 16, that the waters of Jordan "which came down from above" (namely from the two springs of Jor and Dan) "stood still;" and the rest "failed and were cut off," running into the Sea of the Plain, (otherwise called the Dead Sea;) so that, betwixt both, the river of Jordan was dried up into a fair passage over it. I fear, whilst the stream of a new supply from the two fountains of learning and religion in this kingdom is much disturbed and partly obstructed in these tumultuous times, and whilst the present generation of eminent divines maketh haste to their graves, able ministers will almost be drained dry in the kingdom. The rather because, as the arrow mortally wounded Ahab "betwixt the joints of his armour," so in the *interstitium* betwixt two disciplines, (and give me leave to term discipline the armour of the church,) —episcopacy put off, and another government not as yet close buckled on,—profaneness and licentiousness

* [The celebrated William Bedell.—Ed.]

have given a great and grievous wound to the church of God; for the speedy cure whereof join thy prayers with his, who is

Thy servant in any Christian office,

THO. FULLER.

Waltham Abbey.





BERENGARIUS.

ABEL REDEVIVUS:
OR, THE DEAD YET SPEAKING.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF BERENGARIUS.

1. We read, Acts xxvii. 20, when St. Paul was tossed with the tempest, that "neither sun nor stars for many days appeared." This may pass for the doleful emblem of the dismal darkness in the depth of Popery, wherein Berengarius lived, the subject of our ensuing discourse, and before whom, from the expiring of the primitive age till his entrance into the church, little considerable light of knowledge shined amongst many errors and much ignorance.

2. We have not been idle in seeking, but unsuccessful in the finding, the date of Berengarius' birth; and can likewise give no account of his parentage and extraction. Herein he was not unlike the river Nilus, unknown and obscure for its fountain, but famous and renowned for its streams; and his birth may seem to be eclipsed by the resplendent lustre of his life. And Tours in France, seated on the river Loire, was his native city; wherein he was born about the year of our Lord 1020, as by proportion of chronology may probably be collected. And it is observable, that as the city of Tours gave the first being to Berengarius, so a gate of that city,

called St. Hugh's gate, (in, at, and near which, they used to meet,) gave the denomination to the Huguenots, or modern French Protestants, who in the point of transubstantiation succeed to the opinion of Berengarius, or rather to the truth of the doctrine itself.

3. Here we must not omit, that some have maintained that this Berengarius came over with William the Conqueror into England, and by his bounty received the Castle of Barnewell in Northamptonshire for his possession.* But the mistake ariseth by confounding him with another Berengarius, his namesake, surnamed *Le Moine*, or "The Monk," (which also added countenance to their first error,) though indeed he was a martial man, and no ecclesiastical person, on whom the king conferred that castle. Thus, though we should have been right glad to have had this worthy scholar our countryman, though not by birth, yet by habitation, accounting it England's honour that he was infeoffed with fair demesnes therein; yet, because all is grounded upon an error, no counterfeit credit, nor false favours, shall be assumed by us on others' mistakes.

4. Having profited in the school above his equals, under Fulbertus his master, the world began to take notice of his abilities, and at last he was preferred to be archdeacon of Angers; a man of bold spirit, and daring resolution, as God always suits men for the work they undertake. We may observe in battles, that they set those who are best armed to charge in the first rank, and order them to follow who are not so completely weaponed: God, in like manner, in His wisdom appointed that such confessors of the truth, who were to make the first

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia," in Northamptonshire.

breach into the armies of Antichrist, should be accoutred *cap-à-pie* with undaunted courages, (such as this Berengarius and Luther were,) though men of meeker minds and milder dispositions may afterwards be well used in the same service.

5. For his life and conversation, it was so blameless that therein he starved the malice of all his adversaries; the long teeth of whose spite could find nothing to feed upon. He is reported not to have suffered any woman to come in his sight; not because he was a hater of their sex, but because, [as] he was to deal with dangerous adversaries, he would warily cut off all occasions of suspicion; and in some cases we may say, that overmuch wariness is but even measure and caution,—if it be not too much, [it] will be too little.

6. The main matter wherein he dissented from the current of the Roman church, and is honoured for a champion of the truth, was, in the point of transubstantiation; an error which crept, one of the last, into the church, and was the first that was vigorously opposed. It took the rise from some extravagant expressions of Damascene and Theophylact, who, endeavouring to show the reality of Christ's presence in the sacrament, started such flourishing language to that purpose, (flowers, though they cannot feed, may sometimes infect,) that, though well-intending, yet ill-interpreted, gave occasion to their unskilful readers (who more minded the words than the matter) from such rhetorical premises to conclude a dogmatical point, of the elements being corporally transubstantiated, against the very being and nature of a sacrament.

7. The first that effectually opposed this error was

Leuthericus, (remarkable for his name, confining on Leutherus,) archbishop of Sens in France. But the French king so kept him under with his heavy weight upon him, that he never grew up to any general notice in the world. More active was the undertaking of our Berengarius, (who is challenged by Baronius for reviving the opinions of Leuthericus,) and would not be taken off by the smiles or frowns of any who endeavoured, by all means possible, to persuade him to desist in his opposition.

8. There was one Adelmanus, bishop of Brixia, [Brescia,] schoolfellow with Berengarius, who, by most loving letters, persuaded him to be reconciled to the Romish church. He often, in his epistolary addresses, intituled Berengarius (even when little better than under the pope's curse) *sancte frater*, "holy brother;" and addulced his discourse with all luscious expressions unto him. Moreover, he minded him of the counsel which Fulbertus their master often gave him *in horto*, "in the garden;" who, suspecting the activity (nick-named by him "turbulency") of Berengarius, often forewarned him with tears, not to innovate anything in matters of religion, and humbly to submit his judgment to the censure of the church. Nor were promises of preferment wanting, on condition he would comply with the court of Rome; who, on the revocation of his opinion, might easily have turned his archdeaconry into a bishopric. But all was in vain; he still persisted loyal to his first principles, and no golden promises could bribe his judgment against his conscience.

9. Here it is no part of our employment, much less of our purpose, to be advocate for all the faults

of Berengarius; it being madness in any man, who is unable to pay the score of his own faults, utterly to break himself by being the surety for the offences of others. Only we submit the ensuing particulars to the judgment of the impartial reader; that when he meets with the manifold charges drawn up against this party accused, he would be pleased to take what followeth into his serious consideration.

10. First, that he was a man, and so subject to error: and therefore he is no man who will not afford him a pardon of course, for those failings proceeding from human infirmity. Secondly, that he lived in a dark age; and therefore was more obnoxious to stumble: so that we need not condemn him that his errors were so many, but rather praise God's goodness that they were no more. Yea, this I dare boldly affirm, that if the morning grow so proud as to scorn the dawning of the day, because mixed with darkness, mid-day will revenge her quarrel, and may justly take occasion to contemn the morning, as in lustre inferior to herself. Thirdly, Berengarius was vexed with opposition, which makes men reel into violence; and no reason it is, that the constant temper of his soul should be guessed from some ague-fits (as I may term them) of his passion, and that his positive opinion should be stated from his polemical heat, when he was chafed in disputation. Lastly, to render him whilst living, and his memory when dead, more odious, his adversaries have fastened many false accusations upon him.

11. We that live in this distracted age, know too well how ready men are to cast aspersions on those who differ from them in point of opinion: which should make us more charitable in passing our ver-

dicts on those in former ages which dissented from the received opinions. Wherefore, when we read Baronius calling him *hominem mendacissimum, impudentissimum*, with other epithets to the same sense, we know how to defalce our credit accordingly. True it is, one fault he was guilty of, which we are so far from excusing or extenuating that we would throw the first stone against him ourselves, but that consciousness to our own frailties commands us to hold our hands, lest, hitting of him, we wound ourselves, as subject, without Heaven's especial support, to the same infirmities. However, seeing God is glorified in His servant's weakness, and every stumble of man is a step to God's throne, we will plainly and simply set down the unexcusable inconstancy of Berengarius.

12. Being summoned to appear before Pope Leo IX., at first he refused to obey his command, therein following the counsel of Peter de Waldez, (from whom the Waldenses received their names;) but, afterwards being otherwise advised, and wearied with the importunity of his adversaries, he not only made his personal appearance before the pope, but also solemnly, in the presence of the council at Rome, retracted and abjured his opinions. Indeed, formerly he had set forth a work in the nature of an expedient, wherein he did much qualify and mitigate his expressions, abating much of their edge and sharpness, if possibly he might have made them comply with "the sense of Rome." But this proving ineffectual, and not giving expected satisfaction to the conclave, he was [at] last fain *in terminis* to renounce and recant his opinion, in the presence of one hundred and thirteen bishops.

13. But, having got out of the reach of his enemies' paws, he re-assumed his tenets again, remitting nothing of his former zeal, but rather asserting them with more ardour and vehemency than before. But, alas! no sooner was he seized on the second time, but that he again abjured his opinions, in the Lateran Council under Pope Gregory VII., to the indelible stain of his name for his inconstancy.

14. After his second recantation, we find little of the manner of his demeanour unto the day of his death. And we easily conceive, that, clouded with shame for his former fact, he affected obscurity, and lived as invisible as might be in the world. We find not that he accepted of any preferment in the church, or that any was offered him: a presumption that he was not re-estated in the favour of the Popish party, not confiding in him as thorough-paced in their religion. Charity commands us to hope, that, at the crowing of the cock of his conscience, he might awake out of his former sleep, and weep bitterly, with him who, on his repentance, was received into Christ's favour.

15. Two especial adversaries Berengarius had,—Guitmundus, and Lanke Franke [Lanfranc] a Lombard: the latter, of more learning than piety, more parts than learning, more pride than both, was well rewarded for his pains for disputing and writing against Berengarius with the rich archbishopric of Canterbury. But Berengarius never mounted higher than his archdeaconry of Angers, where he died on Epiphany, or Twelfth-day, *anno* 1088. Different is the judgment of learned men concerning his final estate. Hildebert, bishop of Mans, and our William of Malmesbury, say that he died *homo novus*, "a re-

claimed man," and dandle him in the lap of the Romish church as a true child thereof. But Cardinal Baronius looks upon him under the notion of a heretic, accounting his recantation but superficial, indited rather from his cowardice than conscience. Our Illyricus, in his "Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth," affords him a principal place therein. We leave him to stand or fall to his own Master, according to that concluding distich, which we find in an author:

Cùm nihil ipse vides propriâ quin labe laboret,
Tu tua fac cures, cætera mitte Deo.

"Seeing nought thou seest but faults are in the best,
Look thou unto thyself, leave God the rest."

16. Remarkable are his words wherewith he breathed out his last gasp, which Illyricus reporteth to this effect: "Now am I to go, and appear before God, either to be acquitted by Him, as I hope, or condemned by Him, as I fear." Which words, as they savour not of that full assurance of salvation which God vouchsafeth to many of His servants, so they carry not with them any offensive breath of despair. And it is no contradiction in Christianity, to rejoice before God with trembling. And in this twilight we leave Berengarius to that merciful God, who knoweth whereof we are made, and remembereth we are but dust.

Most worthily may this divine,
Old Berengarius, fairly shine
Within this sky of lustrous stars,
Who 'gainst Rome's errors fought truth's wars;





JOHN WICKLIFFE.

Confuting, with high approbation,
Rome's figment, transubstantiation;
Which did that hierarchy so vex,
And with such passion so perplex,
That they would never give him rest,
But did his soul so much molest,
That at the last, by fraud and force,
They made him (with most sad remorse)
Two several times his cause recant,
Him of his crown thus to supplant.
Thus, O, thus oft Sol's rays most rare
With dusky clouds eclipsed are.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN WICKLIFFE.

Amongst many famous writers in this nation, as Beda, Alcuin, John Carnotensis,* Nigellus, Neckam, Sevall,† Baconthorpe, Ockam, Hampoole of Armagh,‡ this Wickliffe is not the least of worth. He was famous both for life and learning. He was brought up in the famous University of Oxford, in Merton College. He gave himself, after he was Master of

* [John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres; who had the reputation of being one of the most learned men of the twelfth century.—Ed.]

† [Archbishop of York in the middle of the thirteenth century.—Ed.]

‡ [In this designation two contemporary worthies seem to be condensed into one:—Richard de Hampolo, author of *Stimulus Conscientiæ*, "The Pricke of Conscience," who died in 1349; and Richard of Armagh, who died in 1359, and was also a writer of renown in his day.—Ed.]

Arts, to the study of school divinity, wherein, having an excellent acute wit, he became excellently well qualified, and was admired of all for his singular learning, and sweetness of behaviour, in King Edward the Third's time: who protested that his chief end and purpose was to call back the church from her idolatry, especially in the matter of the sacrament. He was much favoured by John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and the Lord Henry Percy, who defended and protected him from his raging adversaries and bishops.

And when Pope Gregory XI. sent his bull to Oxford, to require them to root out Wickliffe's tares, (as he called them,) the proctors and masters were in long debate whether they should receive it, or reject it. In the time of King Richard II., this Wickliffe was brought before the bishops at Lambeth, and had many articles put in against him; but what by the means of some courtiers and citizens of London, he was again released. After this William Barton, vice-chancellor of Oxford, with some other doctors, set forth an edict against him and his followers: whereupon he published a confession of his doctrine. *Anno Christi* 1382, the archbishop of Canterbury held a convocation at London, and condemned the articles of Wickliffe as heretical: and when the said archbishop with many of his adherents were gathered together about this business, just as they were ready to begin their debate, there fell out a great and general earthquake, which so affrighted many of them, that they desisted from their business. Yet all means were used for the suppressing of his opinions; but through God's mercy they could never be extirpated to this day.

He was a great enemy to the swarms of begging friars, with whom it was harder to make war than with the pope himself. He denied the pope to be the head of the church, and pronounced him to be Antichrist. He confuted and condemned his doctrine about Bulls, Indulgences, &c. The bishop of Rome lost by his doctrine the power of making and ordaining bishops in England, and the tenths of spiritual promotions, and also the gains of his Peter-pence. Whereupon Polydore Virgil calls him "an infamous heretic." He affirmed the Scripture to be the supreme judge of controversies, condemned transubstantiation, &c. He was a painful and faithful preacher of the Gospel under that famous King Edward III., who always favoured and protected him against the rage of his adversaries. In the reign of Richard II., he was by the power of his adversaries banished; yet in all his affliction he showed an undaunted spirit. At last returning from exile, he died in the year of our Saviour Jesus Christ (whom he had preached) 1387, and was buried the last day of December at his parsonage of Lutterworth in Leicestershire. But in the year 1428, which was forty-one years from the time of his death, his dead body was, by the decree of Pope Martin V., and Council of Sene,* digged up, and burned with the execrations of that fiery pope. Thus he found the cruelty of them being dead, whom he had, being living, taught to be so. He writ (as Pius Eneas† testifies) more than two hundred fair volumes, most of which were burned by Subinck, archbishop

* [*Sens* is probably meant; but it was the Council of Constance that thus degraded itself.—Ed.]

† [Æneas Sylvius, Pope Pius II. The writer probably had in his memory Virgil's favourite designation of the hero of his Æneid.—Ed.]

of Prague in Bohemia. The catalogue of his works you may read in the Centuries of John Bale; some of them I have here set down.

1. Of Christ and Antichrist. 2. Of Antichrist and his Members. 3. Of the Truth of the Scriptures. 4. Of the Fountain of Errors. 5. A Book of Conclusions. 6, 7. Of ecclesiastical and civil Government. 8. Of the Impostures of Hypocrites. 9. Of Blasphemy. 10. Lectures on Daniel. 11. On the Apocalypse. 12. Of the Marriage of Priests. 13. The Devil's Craft against Religion. 14. His Policy to overthrow Faith. 15. Of Apostasy. 16. Two books of Metaphysics, one containing twelve books. 17. Glosses upon the Scripture. 18. Of Falling away from Christ. 19. Of Truth and Lying.

Besides these, he writ many of philosophy, and translated the Bible into the English tongue, making Prefaces and Arguments to every book. He also translated the twelve books of Clement, the parson of Lanthon, containing the Harmony of the Evangelists. And thus went out this lamp of England: of whom one thus hath said:—

With our old English writers rare
John Wickliffe justly might compare
For learning, life, and solid wit,
And many works he rarely writ;
Contending stoutly 'gainst Rome's errors,
Ne'er daunted by their threats or terrors;
But, to his death, still fought faith's fight,
And thus went out this lamp of light.
But, being dead, Rome did so rave
'Gainst this faith's champion, that from 's grave





JOHN HUSS.

They digged up his bones with ire,
And burnt (as heretic's) in fire.
Thus was Rome's folly, rage, express'd,
To burn dead bones of souls at rest.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN HUSS.

THE fair fruit of effects is, virtually, couched in the small seeds of their causes.

1. John Huss is a pregnant instance thereof; whose inconsiderable, yea, contemptible, beginning improved itself to give a blow "under the fifth rib" (in Scripture always observed mortal) to the "man of sin."

2. It would have given much satisfaction to the reader, and more to ourselves, could we present him with exact particulars of Huss's birth and extraction. But, alas! we are so far from having "a star going before us" to direct us to the place of his nativity, that we find not the least candlelight to guide us to the notice thereof. In or near Prague we conceive him to be born, in which university he had his education.

3. Now the learning of that age moved in a very narrow circle, in case and controversial divinity. The schoolmen wanting the wings of the learned tongues, therewith to mount into the meaning of the Scriptures in their original, only employed themselves in running round in the beaten path of common questions: whilst such amongst them as were of

extraordinary parts, impatient to be confined within, yet unable to exceed, the foresaid compass, let out their souls, and made room for the activity of their minds, by digging deep into curious inquiries, where their best results are either unnecessary, or [un]certain, or both. Wherefore John Huss, declining such intricate labyrinths, betook himself to find out the right way to heaven described in God's word.

4. It happened about this time, that Richard II. of England married Anne, sister to Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia; and although he had no children by her, yet the conversion of Bohemia may fitly be styled the issue of this their marriage. Indeed, this Queen Anne taught our English women modesty in riding on side-saddles: in exchange whereof the English taught the Bohemians true religion; first discovering the Romish superstitions unto them. For her courtiers here did light on the books of John Wickcliffe, and carried them into their own country, where Huss had the happiness to read, approve, and disperse the same. See here the pedigree of the Reformation, wherein Germany may be counted the son, Bohemia the father, and England the grandfather.

5. Huss hereupon began zealously to preach and propagate the truth, which for the *soundness* thereof was welcome to many, for the *novelty* to more. But as the Jews, Acts xxii. 22, heard St. Paul patiently, until that passage, that he was "sent to the Gentiles," which enraged them beyond all modesty and measure, crying out, "Away with such a fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should live!" so even some friars lent attentive ears to Huss's sermons, till their profit began to be concerned in his

confuting the gainful errors of Rome, and their malice mustered all opposition against him. First, by order from his holiness, the archbishop of Swinco was commanded to suppress him; but all in vain, his commands prevailing no more with Huss, than the people's prohibitions to Bartimeus commanding him silence; (Mark x. 48;) which only made him cry out "the more a great deal;" insomuch that the pope himself was fain to take the matter in hand.

6. Here happened a most remarkable accident, very advantageous for the propagating of Huss's doctrine. A schism happened in the church of Rome betwixt three popes at the same time, so that Peter's chair was like to be broken, betwixt so many sitting down together. This conduced much to the benefit of Huss, who hereupon took advantage to declaim (so good a wit, having an useful theme, would lose nothing in handling it) against the church of Rome; pleading that, having three, it had no legal head; that this monstrous apparition of "the man of sin" presaged his life was short; that these three anti-popes made up one Antichrist. In a word, "there was opened unto him a great door of utterance," made out of that crack or cleft which now happened in this seasonable schism at Rome.

7. It was now high time a general council should be called. The church was grown foul with long want of scouring. However, the vicious court of Rome declined it, (wonder not if thieves be unwilling to hear of an assizes,) expecting that there their faults would be discovered and censured. All the world stood on the tiptoes of expectation, what the council would produce. Where for a while we leave them, with the three popes tugging one against the other;

where all three were at last deposed, and Pope Martin substituted in the room of them.

8. Huss during the beginning of this council remained at Prague, constantly preaching in his church of Bethlehem. Where his adversaries chose out of his books and preaching several articles, which they charged against him for heretical. And it may seem wonderful how variously the number of them is reckoned up; sometimes eight errors, sometimes nine, sometimes one-and-twenty, sometimes five-and-forty; which numbers the doctors and masters of the university of Prague collected and objected against him. Yet none need justly admire at this difference, as if Huss's opinions were like the stones on Salisbury Plain, falsely reported that no two can count them alike. The variety ariseth, first, because some count only his primitive tenets, which were breeders; whilst others count all the young fry of consequences derived from them. Secondly, some were more industrious to seek, capacious to expound, malicious to deduce, far distant consequences; excellent at the inflaming of a reckoning, and to discover an infant or embryo,—errors which others overlooked. Thirdly, it is possible that, in process of time, Huss might dilate himself in additional and supplementary opinions, more than what he maintained at first. His principal accusations were, that he maintained, [First,] the sacrament was to be ministered to the people under both kinds: Secondly, that priests in a mortal sin might not minister the sacrament: Thirdly, that the pope's power above other priests was only invented for covetousness: Fourthly, that priests, once ordained, are not to be forbidden preaching, &c.

9. For these tenets Huss was excommunicated by Cardinal Delohunna, a sure prop of the Romish church. But all in vain, seeing the gentry and nobility of Bohemia did highly favour him. Whereupon he was brought to the Council of Constance under the safeguard of the whole empire, and a solemn conduct of the Emperor Sigismund's, double written, both in Latin and Almane, [German,] (that whether learned or unlearned might [not] pretend ignorance thereof,) drawn in a most favourable latitude for him, and strongest legal form, given at Spires, the 18th of October, *anno Domini* 1414. Yea, when the pope was informed by a Bohemian gentleman, what liberty Huss had granted him to remain in Constance, without any trouble, vexation, or interruption; his holiness replied, that "if Huss had killed his brother, no violence should be offered unto him during his abode in this city."

10. But, as the man possessed with a devil, (Mark v. 3,) "None could bind him, no, not with chains;" so strong was the unclean spirit of cruelty in the Romish court, that no duplicates or double cords of safe-conducts in Dutch [German] and Latin, granted and accepted, could protect the innocence of this godly man; but that, contrary to the solemn faith formerly pledged, he was persecuted and imprisoned.

11. And now, what can be sacred, what armour of proof against the artillery of malice, when such conducts are shot through? In vain do men make contracts and stipulations, when faith publicly given—the best wax of all indentures, and fairest seal of wax—shall thus be prostituted to private designs. Had these great pretended scholars read and seriously considered David's Psalms, (xv. 4,) "He that

sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not;"—and did not the emperor pass on his honour, and pope's word, speaking always *in verbo sacerdotis*, amount to an oath?—yet had they but weighed the answer of Festus, a pagan, "It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before he that is accused have his accusers face to face," &c.; (Acts xxv. 16;) they could never have adventured on so unexcusable a martyr.

12. Here we conceive we shall not unprofitably bestow our pains, if we tender a catalogue of the principal friends and enemies of Huss; that posterity may know who added [acted] the part of helpful Onesiphorus to this Paul in bonds, and who were like Demetrius the coppersmith, the active persecutors of him.

HIS FRIENDS.

1. John de Chlum, a Bohemian nobleman.

2. Nicholas, titular bishop of Nazareth, who gave him an especial testimony, though by his place the apostolical inquisitor of heresy for the university of Prague.

3. Conrad, Archbishop of Swinco, who openly cleared him.

4. Henry Latzembog, well extracted, a great advocate for Huss.

5. Wenceslaus de Duba,

HIS FOES.

1. Stephen Paletz, principal of the doctors of Prague.

2. Andrea de Broda, a doctor who writ a book against him.

3. A nameless Charterhouse Mineurate [Carthusian Minorite] of St. Sebald in the city of Nuremberg.

4. Stanislaus Znoma, a Bohemian doctor, who, coming to Constance, died by the way, of an imposthume.

HIS FRIENDS.	HIS FOES.
a gentleman, and especial pleader for the validity of his safe conduct, when Huss was imprisoned.	5. Michael de Causis, a great disputant against Huss, whose very surname may seem to speak philosophy.
6. A considerable part of the nobility and gentry both of Bohemia and Poland.	6. Didacus à Lumbart, esteemed a great scholar.
	7. Stokes, an Englishman, then present at the council, his serene antagonist.
	8. The pope, court, and cardinals of Rome, but chiefly the cardinal of Cambray.

Thus, though Huss had many friends, yet the number, power, and activity of his foes did preponderate; so that, notwithstanding his many appeals and protestations, he was cast into a stinking prison, loaden with chains of iron, kept with hungry and bad fare. But as men thrown flat on their backs always have their faces looking up to heaven; so this godly man, being overthrown with the fury of his enemies, made the more fervently his address unto God, by a lively faith, having all his dependence on dame Providence, even in the depth of cruel sickness which in the prison seized upon him.

13. The sentence of condemnation being at last solemnly passed upon him, Huss, falling down on his knees, "Lord Jesus Christ," said he, "forgive mine enemies, by whom Thou knowest I am falsely accused." How did his charity triumph over his

persecutors' malice! an action which will find more commenders than followers in our age. Whereas, indeed, he that revengeth himself of his adversary is but even with him, and, in his own expression, "cries quits" with him: while such as forgive him are above him; it being the prerogative of princes to pardon.

14. Then the seven bishops, who were appointed for that purpose, began to degrade Huss of his seven orders, and such vestments as were the badges thereof. The best was, though they uncased him out of his other garments, they could not strip him of the white robe of innocence. Yea, so cruelly did they act their part therein, that they resolved, instead of a razor, with shears to pare away a part of his crown, lest (forsooth) any relic of their holy oil should remain upon it. However, Huss was no loser thereby; for God no doubt made good to him His promise, "I will give unto thee a crown of life;" (Rev. ii. 10;) which did cover his deformity, and plentifully compensate the loss of his skin.

15. Here, I confess, it was once my design to contract and insert the last speech of John Huss to the people; but my revised thoughts dissuaded me from it. For it is all so excellent, that *compendium* would be *dispendium** thereof. In itself the only fault thereof is the shortness of it; and pity it should be more abridged; for he that undertakes the same, will leave out as good as he chooseth in. Wherefore we remit the reader to the entire narration of Master Foxe, where his speech is recorded; which left an echo in the ears and hearts of all that heard him.

* ["Abridgment would be loss and disparagement."—Ed.]

16. Hence Huss was hurried to the stake, where the emperor, duke of Bavaria, chanced to be present, proffering him pardon, but on such unworthy conditions as Huss's conscience could not accept. He did love, but did not dote on, life; as *he* shall never grow rich by the bargain, who purchaseth it with the price of his soul. No doubt he called to mind what was written: "And others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection." (Heb. xi. 35.) And now the fire was kindled, with which Huss must grapple, being in this kind, as I take it, the first that suffered in this manner. For as for Wickliffe, only his corpse was burnt after death, more to his enemies' shame; who in vain revenged themselves on the empty cage after the bird was flown. Whereas Huss was the first that entered the list with that furious element, and fought body to body with the fire. Scriveners use with gaudy flourishes to deck and garnish the initial characters of copies. The like may be expected from me, seeing Huss may be termed a "leading letter" in the "pattern of patience," that semnably with rhetorical flosculations I should endeavour to adorn his memorial. But such superfluous pains may well be spared, seeing this letter is conspicuous enough in itself, dyed red in its own blood. Being tied with a chain to the stake, by chance he was turned towards the east. And here behold the criticism of superstition; for some cried out, "He should not look towards the east, because he was a heretic." Whereupon his tormentors (who had power to turn his body, not to move his mind) reversed him westward. Sad indeed it is to come out of God's blessing into the warm sun; but happy

he that is turned out of the warm sun into God's blessing, and, denied the benefit and beauty of the orient beams, had the inward comfort of heavenly grace to solace and support him.

17. A paper, whereon devils were anticly painted, was put upon him; he wearing those shadows on his head, whose substance his enemies felt in their heart. But when the fire began to be kindled, that furious element was more merciful unto him than were his executioners. For whereas fire hath a double property,—to burn and to stifle,—here it was pleased to make use of the latter quality, as the milder and meeker of the twain. Except we shall say, it was rather the pity of the wind than the favour of the fire, which drove the flame so full upon his face that it quickly choked him; and may be presumed senseless, though he moved awhile after. His heart, which was found amongst his bowels, first beaten with staves and clubs, was afterwards pricked upon a sharp stick, and roasted at the fire apart until it was consumed. The least remnant of his ashes was gathered up, and cast into the river of Rhine, so, if possible, for ever to extirpate his memory.

18. One memorable passage must not be forgotten, in the lifetime of Huss, which is conceived to amount almost to a prophecy. He had a dream, (as he writes in his forty-fifth epistle, being a letter written to the Lord John de Chlum,) how he beheld, in his church at Bethlehem in Paris [Prague], certain men to raze and pull out the images of Christ; and the next day, as it seemed unto him, many other painters made more and fairer images than formerly; and the painters with much people about them said, in

merriment and kind of derision, "Let the bishops and priests come now and put out these pictures." Hereat the people much rejoiced, and Huss himself fell a laughing, which caused him to awake.

19. I know that generally dreams are nothing, but Fancy's descant on the former day's work; and he that layeth too much pressure on such slender props may be laid in the dust. However, it was verified in the event, that many worthy Christians, the truest images of Christ, (as Christ is the image of God,) were by Huss's preaching and suffering converted to the truth, in defiance of all anti-christian opposition, who endeavoured to delete and expunge all impressions of truth in them.

This most illustrious lamp of Gospel light,
Which in Bohemia first shone forth most bright
By this renowned martyr's industry,—
Heavenly heroic Huss, yet furiously
Affronted was by Papal enemies.
But, in the midst of this their rage, did rise,
Among themselves, a mighty schism and rent;
Three anti-popes at once; by which event
Renowned Huss did great advantage gain,
The Gospel's light to propagate, maintain.
But, at the last, that schism being sew'd up,
Again they fill their wrath's and rage's cup;
And gave it Huss to drink, who valiantly
Drank up the same, to death's extremity:
And though they painted devils placed on his head,
Yet he their rage and scorn did nothing dread.
Thus faithless Rome, breaking her promise given,
In fiery chariot sent his soul to heaven.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JEROME OF PRAGUE.

1. TRAVELLERS* report, that the place wherein the body of Absalom was buried, is still extant at Jerusalem; and that it is a solemn custom of pilgrims passing by it to cast a stone on the place; the like, in expression of their detestation of his unnatural rebellion against his own father. But a well-disposed man can hardly go by the memory or mention of Jerome of Prague, without doing his grateful homage thereunto, in bestowing upon him some passage in his praise and commendation. Amongst others, therefore, who have raised the heap of this good man's monument, we will cast-in the contribution of our stone also, (though but a rough and unpolished one,) to advance the height of this history.

2. This Jerome of Prague was, by his country, a Bohemian, though we find not the principal date and place of his birth,† nor the condition of his parents. We account it more modesty to confess our ignorance hereof, than to wrong the reader by obtruding on his belief our roving conjectures for certain truths. But Bohemia, though she was happy to enjoy him, was not so covetous to engross him, but that, for his profit and her own honour, she lent him to other parts of Europe, there to have his

* Bydulph, Morrison, Sandys.

† Allowing him forty-five years old at his death, he was born [in] 1372.



JEROME OF PRAGUE.

UNIV. OF MICH.

education. He travelled into France, and at Paris proceeded Master of Arts; and in the university of Cologne and Heidelberg had the same degree confirmed unto him. He was as exact in observing, as happy in remembering, the most noteworthy passages which his judicious eye met with in foreign parts.

3. But there is a secret loadstone, in every man's native soil, effectually attracting them home again to their country, their centre. This skilful merchant for learning, having made a long voyage to the most principal parts and staple places of literature, and by that his adventure much enriched himself, hath a mind to return home to his haven, and safely arrived at Prague in Bohemia. He needed no other harbinger to send before to provide him welcome, than the fame of his own reputation; being so well known in that place that the city passeth for his surname, and he [is] commonly styled Jerome of Prague. For here he had, if not his birth, his first breeding; here he made so many pious sermons; here he held so many famous disputations: insomuch as it is questionable whether Jerome be more honoured with the addition of Prague, or Prague more renowned with the name of Jerome. For sooner shall the river Multaw [Moldau] cease with her silver streams to water and divide that famous city, than the memory of Jerome be forgotten.

4. Hitherto Jerome was but a wild stock, and ungrafted, going on with the multitude in erroneous ways, having drunk, as deep as the rest, of Rome's bewitched cup, till his conversion happened on this occasion:—The Bohemians, who brought their Lady Anne over into England to be married to our King

Richard II., brought back the books of John Wickliffe home with them into their country. Jerome of Prague, lighting on one of them, by perusing it, perceived the abominable superstitions then used in the Church, and began by degrees, first, in his judgment, to dislike them; afterwards, in his practice, to disuse them; and lastly, in his preaching, to confute them. Thus contemptible beginnings, being blessed by Divine Providence, prove parents of most considerable effects.

5. But no sooner had Jerome publicly opposed the doctrine of purgatory and prayers for the dead, but all the orders of friars, like a nest of hornets, with their venomous stings, were busy about him. We read of elephants, that though their whole body be, by reason of the hardness of their skin, of proof against the sword; yet they have a tender and soft place under their belly, wherein they are easily wounded, as appears by the example of Eleazer in the Maccabees,* who, taking advantage thereof, killed one of them in fight. But O how tender are the monks' bellies! Those lazy lubbers could not abide to be taught in point of ease and profit; they are suddenly sensible with sorrow, if any go about to abate of their dainty diet, and therefore were be-madded with fury to hear purgatory called into question, the pretended fire whereof did really heat their kitchen. But Jerome, having Scripture and truth on his side, like a valiant champion asserted his opinions in defence [defiance] of opposition, having got the society of John Huss to assist him.

6. Two pillars there were in Solomon's temple; (1 Kings vii. 15;) two olive-trees dropping oil into

* 1 Maccabees vi. 46.

the candlesticks in Zachary's vision; (Zech. iv. 12;) our Saviour sent His seventy disciples to preach "two by two;" (Luke ix. 1;) [Mark vi. 7;] and two witnesses prophesied in sackcloth till they were slain. [Rev. xi. 3–7.] So here God had a *pair* of His preachers, who, by their mutual company, abated the tediousness of solitariness; and, by their united strength twisted together, were thereby more effectually enabled against their adversaries. One soul might seem to animate them both; and, as they were lovely in their lives, so in their deaths they were not long divided.

7. Now a general council was called at Constance, which awakened the Christian world with the expectation of the success thereof. John Huss, out of his own accord, having first obtained full and free licence to come thither and return thence with safety, repaired to the council, and there, in confidence of God and a good cause, proffered to defend the doctrine of Wickliffe to be sound and true, both by Scripture and reason. His very name *Huss*, which in the Bohemian tongue signifieth a "Goose," was a pleasant instrument ready strung and tuned, for the wanton fingers of his enemies to make mirth and music upon it; and every dull wit was sharp enough to use a jeer made to his hand. But let them break jests on his name, whilst he breaks their superstitions in earnest; and as once the geese kept the Roman capitol from their enemies, so this Goose kept the capitol of truth from the Romans. Though "Nabal" was "his name," yet "folly" was not "with him," [1 Sam. xxv. 25,] being of a solid judgment, subtil wit, and discreet deportment in his conversation.

8. But Huss could in no manner obtain free audience; yea, contrary to his assurance formerly granted, had his person restrained. Jerome of Prague, hearing thereof, would not stay at home, (when one hand is bound, will not the other endeavour the loosing thereof?) but hasteneth to Constance, either to produce the freedom or partake of the fetters of his Christian brother. Thus when one arrow is shot, and in hazard to be lost, a second is sent after it, and either his fellow is found, or both lost together; and happy it had been for the church, if she had had her quiver full of such arrows. Jerome, coming to the council, April 4th, 1415, makes means to be heard, and puts up the heads of some positions, proffering publicly to defend them, moving withal that he might have leave to come and go with safety confirmed unto him under the faith of the council.

9. This by no means could be obtained: liberty they would freely give him to come, but not to depart; and on the same terms the wolf will grant free conduct to the lamb to come to his den, but *vestigia nulla retrorsum.* Jerome, hereupon, finding justice obstructed, secretly departed the city; and, in his return home, was taken and brought back to the council. His adversaries much insult on his flight, as one evidence of his guilt; whereas, if matters be well weighed, seeing he could not obtain licence safely to stay, Christ gave him a warrant lawfully to depart, in those words, not only permissive, directive, but injunctive: "When you are persecuted in one city, flee to another."

10. Then was he brought, with a long chain about him, (like St. Paul before King Agrippa,) into the

council, his fetters on set purpose being shaken by those that led him, to make the more noise, to render him more ridiculous. Whereas, indeed, the sound of such shackles made more melodious music in the ears of the God of heaven, than all the loud chanting and unintelligible affected singing in their superstitious choirs. They baited him with railing and opprobrious terms; but, what is most remarkable, none solidly opposed him concerning the opinions of Wickliffe, whereof he was accused, but charged him with youthful extravagancies, rather importing a luxury of wit, than amounting to any dangerous opinion. But, principally, the master of the university of Heidelberg objected against him, that long since, when a student there, he had caused a shield or escutcheon to be painted, in representation of the persons in Trinity, comparing them therein to water, snow, and ice.

11. Jerome denied not the fact, but defended the same, seeing God had stamped in natural matters some countenances of supernatural mysteries. Thus the co-eternity of the three Persons (besides the aforesaid instance) is shadowed out in the *sun*, and in *light* that proceedeth from it, and in a *beam*, that ariseth from both. And seeing that friars' fancies most surfeit with such devices, and that more dangerous pictures, nearer confining on blasphemy, were commonly presented and privileged by them, they of all other were most unfit to cast the first stone at him, for such innocent and harmless portraitures which he had depicted. Thus they vexed him with trivial objections about unconcerning matters; but as for the main business of heresy, they presumed him to be guilty thereof; and he was never brought to a fair and legal disputation concerning the same.

12. From the council he was carried home to the prison, and there for many days kept with bread and water; so that, had the proudest anchorite, pretending to the highest abstinence, been commoner with him, it would have tired his swiftest devotion to keep pace with him. Much other hard usage he felt for the space of a twelvemonth, wherein "his feet were hurt in the stocks, the irons entered into his soul." So that long durance, short diet, hard lodging, love of life, hope of liberty, fear of torture, wanting friends to advise him, made such impressions upon him, that at last he was not only contented to abjure all Wickliffe's opinions for false, but also to allow the murder of his dear brother Huss to be a lawful and laudable act of exemplary justice.

13. Here let none tyrannically trample on the prostrate credit of a penitent sinner. Consider that he did not surrender the castle of his integrity at the first summons, but kept it a full year, in many a furious assault, till the constant battery of importunity made at last an unhappy breach in his soul. O, there is more required to make a man valiant, than only to call another "coward." Had we been in Jerome's case, *what we ought to have done* we know, but *what we should have done* God knows. And may we here remember the blessing which Jacob bequeathed as a legacy to one of his sons: "Gad, a troop shall overcome him: but he shall overcome at the last." (Gen. xlix. 19.) Let none look too long on the intermediate falls and failings to which the best saints of God, in this life, are subject; but lift up their eyes to the ultimate and final victories of God's servants, who at last, through Christ, prove more than conquerors.

14. But Jerome's condition was rather impaired

than improved by his recantation. Great is the difference betwixt deliverance out of dangers of God's giving in His due time, and forcible escapes by sinister courses, which men rashly snatch to themselves. The former is ever attended with inward joy and quiet of conscience, the soul solacing itself, not only in the end attained, but also in the lawfulness of the means used thereunto; whereas when men do not issue out of a danger by a door of God's opening unto them, but break through the wall, (as Jerome by perjury,) by violent and unwarrantable ways, their minds are daily haunted with scruples and perplexities, even sometimes to doleful distraction. Besides, such escapes never grow prosperous, rather easing than curing; and the comfort got by them unravelleth again, as it happened in Jerome of Prague. By whose abjuration his conscience was wounded, God offended, truth betrayed, good men made to grieve, and bad men to insult; the malice of his adversaries being no what* abated in violence, but increased in subtlety. For, conceiving his recantation (as indeed it was) rather indited from his tongue than his heart, these spaniels resolved to "retrieve the game," and to put him afresh on the trial.

15. No fewer than one hundred and seven articles were framed against him, and he brought to his purgation before the council. Here the titular patriarch of Constantinople, who formerly had condemned Huss, was appointed his judge. Happy had it been, if this pragmatical persecutor had had no more power in Constance, than he received profit from Constantinople, whence he was only qualified

[* "No what," the converse of "somewhat," and tantamount to "not a whit."—Ed.]

and dignified with an aërial title. Jerome most valiantly and eloquently asserted the truth, recanting his recantation; and protesting that nothing more troubled him in his life, than his former cowardice. Thus, as the well-levelled cannon, though at the discharging by the force of the powder it recoileth some paces backward, yet it sendeth the bullet to the right mark; so Jerome now hit home, notwithstanding his former fearful failing, and became the more courageous in God's cause. Yea, bashful blushing for their former faults so becometh the faces of good men, that it maketh them look the more beautiful.

16. Sentence of condemnation was presently passed upon him, and a paper mitre was made for him to wear, wherein red devils with monstrous visages were depainted, done to affright the vulgar, who commonly carry their souls in their eyes, much affected with such representations. The heathen Romans had a custom, that at the apotheosis, or pagan canonizing of an emperor for a god, when his body was solemnly burned, an artificial eagle was curiously made at the top of the *rogus* or funeral pile; and people persuaded, that that soaring eagle did withal carry and convey the emperor's soul into heaven; or, at leastwise, was an emblem of his mounting up into happiness. Thus this pageant of painted devils was presented to the people to possess them with an opinion, that in the same sort the fiends of hell did arrest and seize on the soul of Jerome, who notwithstanding would have done well enough, if the devils in flesh there present had not done more to him than the devils in paper. This saint, rather smiling at the folly than angry at the malice of his enemies, cheerfully put the mitre on

his head. "Did my Saviour," said he, "wear a crown of thorns for me, and shall not I as willingly wear this foolish cap for His sake?"

17. He was fastened to the stake, which was an image of wood made to resemble John Huss; (sometimes deep malice expresseth itself but in shallow fancies;) and, singing all the while, suffered, as I may say, many martyrdoms. It was almost [a] quarter of an hour before he gave up the ghost, rather roasted than burnt; so as blisters as big as eggs were raised upon his skin. The fire tormented him at distance, being made round about him. Here my soul, being to be sent on two several errands, knoweth not which first to dispatch:—whether I should inveigh on the cruelty of his murderers, who had martyred all humanity in themselves, artificially skilful to descant on the doleful plain song of death, that the poor man might feel himself die, whilst their revengeful eyes played the epicures on his torment:—or shall I first admire the patience of Jerome, who, standing as stiff as the stake to which he was fastened, like Elijah went up to heaven in a chariot of fire? But, to omit both, I had best adore the goodness of God, which gave such strength unto men, conquering the cruelty of their tormentors by their sufferings.

18. The ashes of Jerome were cast into the river of Rhine, so that he might say with David, "We went through fire and water." (Psalm lxvi. 12.) What the poets fain of the river Tayns * carrying golden sand in the stream thereof, is herein mystically verified of Rhine, now the channel was enriched with the precious dust of this saint. That river long since hath per-

* [Probably a misprint for *Tagus*; which river Ovid and Lucan celebrate as auriferous.—Ed.]

chance scattered their relics to the German Sea, as that to the main ocean, though his memory and fame is more dispersed abroad on the Continent. All this separation of his dust shall not pose an Omnipotent Power, but that at the last day he shall have a glorious resurrection. Wicked men said of St. Paul, "Away with such a fellow from the earth; for it is not fit that he should live." God saith of his soul, "Of whom the world was not worthy." Both agree in this, though grounding their agreement on contrary ways, that men of great piety are not to be long-lived in this world.

19. I had almost forgot a perpetual speech of this Jerome: "I summon you all," said he, "a hundred years hence to appear before God, and give an account of my innocent blood." Several comments are made of this text. His enemies derided his words as the fantastical issue of an idle prayer, only wise and wary in taking the safe term of a hundred years, that none then present might have the advantage to confute him of falsehood. Others conceived the expression a general commination, using a certain time for an uncertain, amounting to this effect;—that the longest lived of them all should one day be called to a sad reckoning for their cruelty. But many Protestants, not content to have his words an arrow shot at rovers, but aiming at and hitting a mark, interpret them of Martin Luther, who, in critical computation, at the end of that century (as heir to Jerome's opinions and executor of his will herein) gave that deadly wound to that man of sin, which hath brought him to an incurable consumption attended with a hectic fever, the infallible forerunner of the speedy approaching of his final destruction.





MARTIN LUTHER.

This brave Bohemian worthy may, indeed,
His brother Huss most worthily succeed;
And, as two twins, for their heroic spirit,
The one the other's honour may inherit.
For, by John Huss Jerome was blestly aided,
Where by the Romish rout he was invaded;
And Jerome, hearing Huss was wrong'd by Rome,
To vindicate his quarrel did presume;
But, in the trial, found his heels tripp'd up,
Fearful (by Romish rage) to taste his cup.
Yet, at the last, that tempting blast o'erblown,
His doubled and redoubled zeal was shown;
Stoutly recanting his forced recantation,
To th' death he hated Rome's abomination.
Which did their Romish fury so inflame,
That, torturing him, they tigers fierce became:
His head (like Huss) with painted devils array'd,
His soul to heaven outrageous flames convey'd.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MARTIN LUTHER.

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, A.D. 1483, November 10th, at nine o'clock at night on St. Martin's Day, and was called Martin. His parents brought him up in the knowledge and fear of God, according to the capacity of his tender years, and taught him to read at home, and accustomed him to virtuous demeanour. The father of George Æmilius (as Luther often hath related) first put him to school,

where though the truth was much darkened by clouds of Popery, yet God preserved still the heads of Catechism, the Elements of the Cisioian [?] Grammar, some Psalms and forms of prayer.

At fourteen years of age, he with John Reineck, who proved a man of especial virtue and authority in those parts, were sent to Magdeburg: thence by his parents he was removed to Eisenach, where was a school of great fame. There he perfected his grammar learning; and being of a very quick wit, and by nature fitted for eloquence, he soon surpassed his school-fellows in copiousness of speech and matter, and excelled in expression of his mind both in prose and verse.

He went to Erfurt *anno* 1501; where he fell upon the crabbed and thorny logic of that age: which he soon attained, as one who by the sagacity of his wit was better able to dive into causes and other places of arguments than others. Here, out of a desire of better learning, he read over Cicero, Livy, Virgil, and other monuments of ancient Latin authors.

When at Erfurt he was graced with the degree of Master of Arts at twenty years of age, he read, as professor, Aristotle's Physics, Ethics, and other parts of philosophy. Afterward his kindred seeing it fit that so worthy endowments of wit and eloquence should be cherished for the public good, by their advice he betook himself to the study of the law. But not long after, when he was twenty-one years old, of a sudden, besides the purpose of his parents and kindred, (upon an affright from his faithful mate's violent death,) he betook himself to the Augustine Monks' College in Erfurt. But before he entered the monastery, he entertained his fellow

students with a cheerful banquet; and thereupon sent them letters valedictory; and, sending to his parents the ring and gown of his degree of Master of Arts, unfolded to them the reason of the change of his course of life. It much grieved his parents that so excellent parts should be spent in a life little differing from death. But for a month's space no man could be admitted to speak with him. Running over the books thereof in order, he met with a copy of the Latin Bible, which he never saw before: there with admiration he observed that there were more evangelical and apostolical texts than what were read to the people in churches. In the Old Testament with great attention he read the story of Samuel and Hannah his mother; and began to wish that he was the owner of the like book; which not long after he obtained. Hereupon he spent his time on the prophetical and apostolical writings, the fountains of all heavenly doctrine, seeking thence to inform his mind with God's will, and to nourish in himself the fear of God, and true faith in Christ from true and undoubted grounds. Some sickness and fear whetted him on to attempt these studies more earnestly. It is said that in this college Luther in his younger years fell into a most violent disease, insomuch that there was no hope of life; and that an ancient priest came to him, and with these words comforted him: "Sir, be of good courage; for your disease is not mortal; God will raise you up to be a man who shall afford comfort to many other." He was often cheered up by conference with the ancient priest; to whom he revealed his fears and scruples of mind.

Then he began to read Augustine's Works: where both in his Comment on the Psalms, and in the book

"Of the Spirit and Letter," he found many evident places, which confirmed this doctrine concerning faith, and the comfort which was before kindled in his breast. Yet did he not utterly cast off the reading of Gabriel and Camaracensis, writers on the "Sentences," but was able to recite them by heart in a manner. He spent much time in often reading Occam, and esteemed him for acuteness of wit before Thomas Aquinas and Scotus: also he studiously perused Gerson. But chiefly he read often Austine's [Augustine's] works, and kept them well in memory. This earnest prosecution of his studies he began at Erfurt, and spent there five years in the college.

In the year 1507 he put on the priest's hood. The first mass which he celebrated was May 2nd,—*Domino cantate.* Then was he twenty-four years old. In this course he continued fifteen years, to the year of our Lord 1527. At that time John Staupitius, who endeavoured to promote the University of Wittenberg lately begun, desired that the study of theology should there flourish, and well knew the wit and learning of Luther, and removed him to Wittenberg, *anno* 1508, when he was twenty-six years old. Here, in regard of his daily exercises in the schools and his sermons, the eminency of his good parts did more and more show themselves. And among other learned men who attentively heard him, Martinus Mellerstadt, commonly called *lux mundi*, "the light of the world," often said of Luther, that there was in him so noble a strain of wit, that he did verily presage that he would change the vulgar course of studies, which at that time was usual in schools and prevailed.

At Wittenberg Luther first explained Aristotle's

Logic and Physics; yet intermitted not his study of divinity. Three years after, that is, *anno* 1510, he was sent into Italy and to Rome in the behalf of his convent, for the deciding of some controversies among the monks. There he saw the pope and the pope's palace, and the manners of the Roman clergy. Concerning which he saith, "I was not long at Rome. There I said and heard others say mass; but in that manner, that so often as I call them to mind I detest them. For at the table I heard, among other matters, some courtesans laugh and boast, and some concerning the bread and wine on the altar to say, 'Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain. Wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain.'" He further addeth, that the priests celebrated the masses so hastily and so perfunctorily, that he left off saying mass, before he betook himself to the Gospel, and cried out, "Away with it, away with it!" In talk with his familiar friends he would often rejoice at this his journey to Rome, and say, that he would not for a thousand florins have been without it. After his return from Rome, Staupitius so advising, he was made Doctor in Divinity, after the manner of the schools, and at the charge of Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony. For the prince heard him preach, and admired the soundness of his invention, the strength of his arguments, and the excellence of the things which he delivered. Now was Luther thirty years old, and had attained a maturity of judgment. Luther himself used to profess, that he would have refused this honour, and that Staupitius would have him permit himself to be graced with this degree, saying pleasantly, that there were many businesses in God's church, wherein he would use Luther's help.

This speech, then spoken in a complimental way, at length proved true by the event. Thus many presages go before great changes.

Soon after he began (as the place required) to explain the Epistle to the Romans and some Psalms: which he so cleared, that after a long and dark night there seemed a new day to arise in the judgment of all pious and prudent men. Here he showed the difference of the Law and Gospel, and refuted an error then most frequent both in the schools and sermons; namely, that men by their works can deserve remission of their sins; and that men are just before God by observing the discipline commanded, as the Pharisees taught. Luther therefore recalled men's minds to the Son of God, and (as John Baptist) showed them "the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world;" and taught them that for Christ's sake their sins are forgiven, and that this benefit is received by faith. He cleared also other points of ecclesiastical truth.

This beginning made him of great authority; and that much the more, because his demeanour was suitable to his doctrine, so that his speech seemed to come from his heart, not from his lips only. For the saying is as true as old, *Κυριώτατον ἔχει πίστιν τὸ ἦθος*, "A man's pious carriage makes his speech persuasive." Hence it was that men easily assented to him, when afterward he changed some of their rites. As yet he attempted not to do it, but was a rigid observer of good order, and added something more strict than usual. With the sweetness of this doctrine all godly-minded men were enamoured; and much it affected the learned, that Christ, the prophets and apostles, were brought out of darkness

and prison; and that the difference of the Law and the Gospel, of God's word and philosophy, (of which they read nothing in Thomas, Scotus, and their fellows,) now was manifested. Now also Luther betook himself to the study of the Greek and Hebrew tongues, that upon his knowledge of the phrase and propriety of the original he might more exactly judge of doctrines grounded thereupon.

Luther being thus busied, into Misnia and Saxony John Tecelius, [Tetzel,] a Dominican friar, brought indulgences to be sold. This Tecelius arrived [asserted]—as other matters, so especially—that he had so large a commission from the pope, that though a man should have defloured the blessed Virgin, for money he could pardon the sin. And further he did not only give pardons for sins past, but for sins to come. Luther's godly zeal being inflamed with these proceedings, [he] set forth certain propositions concerning indulgences. These he publicly affixed at the church next to the castle of Wittenberg, on All Saints' Eve, *anno* 1517.

When Luther perceived that the positions were very well liked of, and entertained as sound and orthodox; which he at first propounded to be discussed by disputation, till the church defined what was to be thought concerning indulgences; he wrote to Jerome, bishop of Brandenburg, under whose jurisdiction he was, and submitted what he had written to the bishop's judgment; and entreated him that he would dash out with his pen, or consume with the fire, what he thought unsound. The bishop answered Luther, and declared that his desire was, that the setting forth of his arguments about those matters should a little while be deferred; and that

he wished that the common talk about indulgences had never been. Luther answered, "I am content so to do; and had rather obey than work miracles, if I could well do them."

In the year 1518 Luther, though most men dissuaded him, yet to show his observance of authority, went (for the most part on foot) to the College of Heidelberg. In the College of the Augustinians, now called the College of Sapience, he disputed about justification by faith.

Upon Luther's return, he wrote an epistle to Iodocus, a divine and philosopher of Eisenach, once his tutor; where he hath this speech: "All the doctors of Wittenberg (in the doctrine concerning grace and good works) are of my judgment; yea, the whole university, except one licentiate, Doctor Sebastian: even the prince himself and our ordinary bishop, and many of the chieftains, and all the ingenious citizens, with joint consent affirm, that before they neither knew nor heard of the Gospel, nor of Christ." The pope, by Thomas Cajetan, cardinal, cited Luther to Rome. Luther, having notice hereof, mainly endeavoured that the cause might be handled in Germany under competent judges: and at length he prevailed by the mediation of Wittenberg University to the pope, and by Charles Miltitius [Von Miltitz], a German, the pope's chamberlain, and the mediation of the elector of Saxony to Cajetan, then the pope's legate, that at Augsburg, before the legate himself, Luther might plead his own cause.

About the beginning of October, Luther came on foot to Augsburg, and upon assurance of his safety was admitted to the cardinal's presence; who admonished him, First, to become a sound member of

the church, and to recant the errors which he had divulged: Secondly, to promise that he would not again teach his former doctrines: Thirdly, that he would abstain from other doctrines which would disturb the peace of the church. Here also it was objected to him, that he denied the merit of Christ to be a treasure of indulgences; and that he taught that faith was necessary for all which should come to the sacrament. Luther entreated some time to deliberate thereon; and returned the next day, and in the presence of some witnesses and a scribe, and four of the emperor's counsellors, professed that he gave the church of Rome all due observance; and if he had spoken any thing dissenting from the judgment of the church, he would reverse it: but could revoke no error, being not yet convicted by Scripture of any; and did appeal to the judgment of the church. But Luther, not convinced as yet by Scripture, persisted in the truth. Yet at length, fearing lest the cardinal should make more use of his power and greatness than scholarlike disputations, he appealed to Rome, and departed from Augsburg, October 20th; because the cardinal charged him not to come into his presence, unless he would recant. Yet Luther left behind him an epistle to the cardinal, and affixed thereunto a formal appeal unto the pope.

Cajetan took Luther's departure in ill part, and wrote to the duke of Saxony, that he would either send Luther to Rome, or banish him out of his territories, and entreated him not to give credit to Luther's defenders, and to take heed of staining the illustrious family whence he was descended. The elector returned answer, that now it was not in his power to do this, because Luther was not convicted

of any error, and did much good service in the university, and did offer his cause for trial and disputation. The resolution of the duke was more confirmed by an epistle of Erasmus, and the intercession and vote of the University of Wittenberg. Here I may not pass over a notable proof of Luther's heroic courage. When Luther came to Augsburg, he, by the counsel of such as the prince elector sent with him, waited three days for to have the emperor's letters for his safety. In the mean time the cardinal sent one for Luther; but he denied to come, until the emperor granted what he desired. At this the messenger was offended, and said, "Do you think that Prince Frederick will take up arms in your behalf?" "I desire it not," said Luther, "in any wise." Then the party, "Where then will you abide?" Luther answered, "Under the cope of heaven." The Italian replied, "Had you the pope and the cardinals in your power, what would you do?" "I would," said Luther, "give them all due honour and reverence." At this the messenger, after the Italian manner biting his thumbs, went away.

Upon these dealings Luther's spirit fainted not; yet, lest he should cause detriment or danger to any one, or derive suspicion on his prince, and that he might more freely deal with the papal cure, [he] would have gone into France or some other country. But his friends, on the contrary, counselled him to stick firmly to Saxony; and that the pope's legate should be certified, that [he] was ready in any safe place appointed him to make his answer. But Luther, having settled his resolution to depart, took his leave of the prince elector, and by a letter sent to him, November 29th, thanked his highness for all

friendly offices of his love. The prince sent that letter to the legate, and appointed Luther to abide at Wittenberg. Of this Luther thus wrote: "The prince was fully minded that I should stay: but what his mind now is, since the royal proceedings are published, and I have appealed to the council, I know not." For, he understanding by the cardinal's letter that judgment should pass on him at Rome, he made a new appeal, saying that he was "forced of necessity to appeal from the pope to the council ensuing, which was in many respects to be preferred before the pope."

About the same time, towards the end of the eighteenth year, [1518,] the pope sent Charles Miltitius [Von Miltitz], a Misnian knight, and bestowed on Prince Frederick a golden rose, according to custom, consecrated by the pope on the fourth Sunday in Lent; and exhorted him to continue in the faith of his ancestors. He was earnest with Luther to be reconciled to the pope; and had seventy briefs apostolical (as they call them) to show; that if the prince would deliver him out of his custody, for which cause the pope sent him the rose, in seventy towns the seventy briefs should be set up, and so he should be brought safe to Rome. He further required of Luther, that he would have a regard to the church's peace; and promised to endeavour that the pope should do the like. Luther freely promised most readily to do whatever he could with a safe conscience in regard of God's truth; and affirmed that himself was desirous and studious of peace, and that it was not his fault that these stirs arose; for necessity had urged him to do what he had done.

Frederick the Elector, a prudent and religious

prince, neither yielded to the pope's desire, nor vouchsafed his rose any respect; though Miltitius wonderfully boasted of it at Dresa [Dresden], and said, "Dr. Martin is in my power." About this time the Bohemian, sending a book written by John Huss to Luther, encouraged him to "constancy and patience;" and confessed that the divinity taught by Luther was sound and right.

Matters being grown to this height of dispute, and Luther having many adversaries; at Leipsic, a town in Misnia belonging to George Duke of Saxony, cousin-german to Prince Frederick, in the nineteenth year [1519] a disputation was held. Thither came Andreas Carolostadius [Carlstadt], accompanied with Luther, Melancthon, and Barnimus Duke of Pomerania. He at that time was in office in the University of Wittenberg. Thither came John Eckius, a divine of Ingolstadt. Hereupon, June the 17th, John Eckius and Carolostadius began the disputation about free-will; namely, "Whether there be in man any free-will to do good as of himself:" that is, as they say, "whether in congruity we deserve grace, when we do what is in us to do." Eckius granted that there is not in man a genuine and natural power and ability to do a good work, but an acquired. On this point eight days were spent by his playing the sophister. Luther could by no means obtain leave of Duke George freely with his safety to dispute; and thereupon came not as a disputer, but as an auditor, to Leipsic, under the protection granted to Carolostadius.

In the year 1520, upon Miltitius' advice, Luther wrote to the pope, and sent him his book lately written "Concerning Christian Liberty," and offered

conditions of peace. About this time Frederick the Elector fell into a grievous sickness; whereupon Luther, moved by some of his friends, and out of Christian charity, wrote the book called *Tesseradecas* to comfort him. Then also he wrote the book "Of Confession of Sins:" in which he took occasion to speak of vows, and deplored their torturing of men's consciences. Charles the Emperor requested to hear Erasmus's judgment concerning Luther, and wondered that so great and extreme hatred should be raised by some monks and the pope against Luther, whose life and carriage he conceived to be commendable, and his doctrine not impious. Erasmus answered in a pleasant manner, that "his highness need not wonder at that; for Luther had in his disputations dealt against the monks' bellies and the pope's crown."

It is reported that these advocates of the pope did promise Erasmus a bishopric of rich revenue, if he would write against Luther. But he answered, that Luther was a man too great for him to write against; and that he learned more from one short page of Luther's writings than from all Thomas Aquinas' books. It is also said, that Margaret, the emperor's aunt, who ruled all Belgium,—when the *magistri nostri* of Louvain complained that Luther with his writings did subvert all Christendom, did demand what manner of man Luther was. When they answered that he was an unlearned monk, she replied, "Why, then, see that all you learned men, being a great multitude, write against that one unlearned fellow: and doubtless the world will give more credit to many of you being learned, than to him being but one and unlearned."

Luther, knowing what was done with his writings, *anno* 1520, December 10th, called the students of Wittenberg together, and in a frequent assembly of learned men, before the gate of Elster near to the great college, where a fire was made, cast the pope's laws and the bull of Leo, with some writings of Eckius, Emser, and others, thereinto; and said, "Because thou troublest Christ, the Holy One of God, eternal fire will trouble thee." The next day he expounded the Psalms, and earnestly charged his auditors that as they loved the salvation of their souls, they should take heed of the pope's statutes; and in writing gave a reason presently of this his action.

Here Frederick, prince elector, obtained of the emperor to call Luther to the court held at Worms, in March, *anno* 1521. Luther, receiving the emperor's grant for his safety, went from Wittenberg.

Here many did dehort Luther from going to Worms: others said, that by the burning of his books he might know what was the pope's censure concerning himself: others told him of the usage of Huss and Savonarola. But Luther with a resolute courage lightly regarded their advice, and said that these discouragements were but cast into his way by Satan, who knew that by a profession of the truth, especially in so illustrious a place, his kingdom would be shaken and indamaged. He further brake forth into these words: "If I knew that there were so many devils at Worms as tiles on the houses, yet would I go thither." They say the duke of Bavaria's jester, whether suborned by others or by some instinct, met Luther at his entrance into the town with a cross, as is wont in funerals, and sang with a

loud voice, "Welcome comest thou hither, and much desired of us, who sate in darkness."

On the twenty-sixth of April, Luther, taking his leave, departed from Worms. Casp. Sturmius, [Caspar Sturm,] a messenger, some hours after followed him, and found him at Oppenheim. Luther being in his journey sent letters back both to Cæsar* and the princes, electors, and states of the empire, commending himself and his cause to them; and said he was ready to do any thing which was meet, except to revoke any thing that he knew to be warranted by God's word. Frederick the Elector, a prudent prince, seeing Luther to have incurred the hatred of all; that no danger might seize on him, committed the business of conveying Luther into some safe place, where he might be free from access, to some faithful friends of the nobility, that there he should be kept private, till Cæsar was departed out of Germany. They presently faithfully and secretly conveyed him to the Castle of Wartburg near Eisenach. This place Luther afterwards used to call his "Patmos."

At length, not enduring further delay and innovations, he returned from his Patmos to Wittenberg. In this twenty-second year [1522] the New Testament came forth, as it was translated into the German tongue in his Patmos, and afterward revised somewhat by Melancthon. He wrote also a letter to the Bohemians concerning matters of great moment, and exhorted them to constancy in the truth which they had received, and that they would not fall back to antichrist for a vain hope of peace. He also dis-

* [By "Cæsar," here and afterwards in this Life, is meant the emperor, Charles V.—Ed.]

suaded them from making themselves guilty of the innocent blood of John Huss and Jerome of Prague.

About this time, also, Luther confuted Nicholas Stork, Thomas Munzer, and other fanatical ringleaders, and prophets broaching new doctrines, who pretended revelations angelical, and conferences with God, and denying the baptism of infants, and thereby sowed the seed of Anabaptism. These false prophets came from the Cygnean city* to Wittenberg, in Luther's absence, and molested Carlstadt and Melancthon. Now also Luther answered Henry the Eighth, King of England, who, as other adversaries also, set out a book against Luther, and had given him by Pope Leo the title of "Defender of the Faith of the Church."

Then Luther set forth the book concerning the dignity and office of the civil magistrate. He also set forth the five books of Moses in the German tongue, three thousand years since the death of Moses. He published also a book to the senate of Prague, about ordaining of ministers; and another, about avoiding the doctrine of men.

The year 1526 [1524], in October, Luther laid aside his monkish hood; and declared his judgment concerning the synod to be called for determination of the ceremonies. Now also Luther renewed the ordination of ministers of the Gospel in the church; of whom George Rorarius was the first. [In June, 1525,] Luther, being forty-two years old, of a sudden and unexpectedly married Catherine à Bora, a noble virgin, late a nun.

Luther's adversaries not only observed the time of the marriage, but proclaimed the marriage to be in-

* [Zwickau, a town of Upper Saxony.—Ed.]

cestuous, in which a monk married a nun. Hereupon the king of England, in his answer to Luther, styles this marriage incestuous, and there saith, among other opprobries put upon Luther, that he could not have committed a sin of higher nature. Against these disgraces Luther thus animated himself, saying, "If my marriage be a work of God, what wonder is there if the flesh be offended at it? It is offended even at the flesh which God our Creator took, and gave to be a ransom, and food for the salvation of the world. If the world was not offended with me, I should be offended with the world, and should fear that it was not of God, which I have done. Now seeing the world is vexed and troubled at [me], I am confirmed in my course and comforted in God."

Then Luther wrote a consolatory letter to John Huss of Breslau, a teacher of the Gospel, notwithstanding the scandal raised by the heretics, and their fighting against the articles of our faith; and in special manner he animated him against Schwenckfeld and Crautwald.

In the twenty-seventh year [1527] the Anabaptists broached their new doctrine, about the not baptizing of infants; and were themselves rebaptized: they also taught community of goods. Both Luther and Zwinglius wrote against them, and the magistrates punished them in divers places.

About the beginning of the year 1527, Luther fell suddenly sick of a congealing of blood about his heart, which almost killed him: but [by] the drinking of the water of Carduus Benedictus, whose virtue then was not so commonly known, he was presently helped. This year also he put forth the story of Leonard Kaiser, his friend, who was burnt for the

Gospel's sake, at the command of William Duke of Bavaria.

In the beginning of the year 1529, Luther put forth his greater and lesser Catechisms for the good of the under sort of people; and admonished the pastors and ministers that they would seriously attend their offices, and teach carefully in the villages; that they would "preach still the same things about the same points, and often press them upon the people." Here also Luther put forth a book against the Turk in the German tongue. In this year was held that solemn and numerous assembly before the emperor and the states of the empire, which was printed and made known to all the nations of Europe. Luther composed the seventeen articles, before the divines of Saxony took their journey to Augusta [Augsburg]. In these articles he omitted scholastic disputes, and points unnecessary for the people's instruction, and comprised the sum of wholesome and necessary doctrine for the salvation of men's souls and true piety.

After this the Confession written by Melancthon according to Luther's direction and advice, was exhibited in the Latin and German tongues in Cæsar's palace, June 25th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, and was read by the chancellor of Saxony before Charles the Fifth, Ferdinando and all the electors and princes being assessors; and that with so shrill and loud a voice, that not only in that large hall, but also in the court beneath, and in the places adjoining, it was well heard. They who subscribed to this Confession were John, Duke of Saxony; George, Marquis [Margrave] of Brandenburg; Ernest and Francis, brothers, Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hassia [Hesse;] Wolf-

gang, Prince of Anhalt; and two cities of the empire, Nuremberg and Reutlingen.

In the year 1533 Luther comforted the citizens of Oschatz by his letter, who had been turned out for his [their] confession of the Gospel. In his letter he saith, "The devil is the host, and the world is his inn: so that wherever you come, you shall be sure to find this ugly host." In the year 1534 the German Bible translated by him, and brought into one body, was first printed, as the old privilege, dated at Bibliopolis under the elector's hands, showeth.

In the year 1535 this Bible was published. Then the fancies of the Anabaptists began to appear in Westphalia, and made a very great combustion. This year Luther began publicly to preach on Genesis, which task he ended (as himself was wont to ominate) with his life, six years after. In February the year following the Duke Elector of Saxony, with the confederate princes and cities, and their divines, held an assembly at Smalcald for matters of religion.

At this meeting Luther fell sick of a grievous disease, so that there was no hope of his life. He was pained of the stone, and obstruction in the bladder, eleven days. Here he, though most of his friends disliked and reasoned against it, would be carried thence. The event proved his resolution good. George Sturk, the physician, being sent for from Erfurt, went along with him. Luther, as he was carried along, made his will; in which he bequeathed his detestation of Popery to his friends and pastors: as before in the house of Spalatinus, in the year 1530, where he made this verse:—

Pestis eram vivus, moriens ero mors tua, papa:

"I, living, stopp'd Rome's breath,
And, dead, will be Rome's death."

But the night after his departure thence he began to be somewhat better.

He took delight to express some things in his own tongue, and in rhyme; of which some were to this sense and meaning:—

"Eat what is sodden well;
Drink what is pure and clear:
That thou the truth dost tell,
To all let it appear."

"Speak not to all whatever thou dost know:
If thou be well, keep wisely where thou art:
Conserve with care whatever is thine own;
Mischance sure-footed comes like th' nimbling hart."

"Be silent in due time; abstain, sustain;
Hold up thy head. Of need to none complain:
Despair not of God's help, thy state to stay,
Who sends assistance to us every day."

He was in his private converse of such behaviour that his life was a pattern of virtue. As he dined or supped, oftentimes he would dictate matter to be preached; sometimes corrected the faults of the press; sometimes he would recreate himself and others with music. He was by nature (which Melancthon would often wonder at) a moderate eater

and drinker; and yet had no small or weak body. He hath been seen for four days together, and being in health, to eat and drink nothing at set meal-times; and often at other times for many days to be content with a little bread and fish. I will say nothing how in the cloisters he macerated himself with watchings, fasting, labours. Oftentimes being invited to banquets, he went not, because he would not lose his time. "I," said he, "lose too much time by invitations to feasts here in the city. I know Satan hath such a hand in it, that I may not deny it; and yet it doth me harm to accept the courtesy." In company he was familiar, pleasant, courteous, yet grave, as beseemed a man of his place. He was affable, and studious of truth.

Melancthon affirmeth, that he often found him at prayer, with great ardency and tears imploring God for the whole church. He set apart every day a certain time for the reading some Psalms, and intermixed his own prayers and tears with them. He often used to say that he was offended with them who, either through idleness or variety of employment, said, that it was enough to pray with groans only. And for that end, said he, forms of prayer are prescribed us by the will of God, that reading might inflame our minds; yea, that the voice also might profess what God we call upon.

When he recreated his mind, and took it off from study, he delighted to play at chess, and was skilful at it. He sometimes practised the art of turning with his servant Wolfgang; and would say, "If the world should deny us sustenance for my pains in God's word, we would learn to get our livings with our hands." Sometimes he did play on an instru-

ment, sometimes shoot. He was careful also of the neatness of his garden, and desired of his friends variety of plants to furnish it: so that he had no vacant time. Of his employments thus he writeth: "I am very full of employment; preaching to the people might well require all my pains; my course of worshipping God and prayer might wholly busy me; my pains by expounding Scriptures by writing, my writing epistles, my care of other men's affairs taketh up my time; my converse with my friends (which I use to call a feeding of my corps) doth very badly steal away a great part of my time." It was his usual course either to meditate, or to read, or preach, or to give good counsel to his friends: so that he was never idle.

He was very liberal to the poor. On a time when a student asked some money of him, he bade his wife give him something; and when she excused the matter in regard of their penury at that time, he took up a silver cup and gave it to the scholar, and bid him sell it to the goldsmith, and keep the money for his occasions. When a friend sent him two hundred angels of gold from the metal mines, he bestowed them all on poor students. When John the Elector gave him a new gown, he said, that he was "made too much of; for if here we receive a full recompense of our labours, we shall hope for none in another life." When the same elector offered him a vein of metals at Schneeberg, he refused it, lest he should incur the temptations of the devil, who is lord of treasure under the earth. He took nothing of printers for his copies; as he writeth, saying, "I have no plenty of money; and thus yet I deal with the printers, I receive nothing from them

for recompense of my many copies; sometimes I receive of them one copy. This I think is due to me; whereas other writers, yea, translators, for every eight leaves have an angel." Concerning money given him, thus he writeth: "The hundred angels given me I received by Taubenheim, and Schart gave me fifty: [so] that I stand in fear that God will give me my reward here. But I protested that I would not so be satisfied by Him; I will either presently repay it or spend it. For what should I do with so much money? I gave one half of it to P. Prior, and made him a joyful man."

He was very lovingly affectioned towards his children, and gave them liberal education: he kept in his house a schoolmaster to train them up in good arts and a godly life. When he saw Magdalen, his eldest daughter, ready to die, he read to her in Isaiah xxvi. 19: "Thy dead servants shall rise again, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead. Come, my people, enter into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast." "My daughter, enter thou into thy chamber with peace; I shall ere long be with thee. For God will not permit me to see the punishments hanging over the head of Germany." And upon this [he] wept plentifully. But in public, when he went along with the hearse, he bridled his affection, and was not seen to shed one tear. And as all men of excellent spirits have a zealous anger in due place, so Luther by nature was vehement, but yet placable: as appeareth in this, that when Melancthon

much moved to passion once came unto him, and all the rest were very mute, Luther uttered this verse :—

Vince animos iramque tuam, qui cætera vincis :

"Thine own heart overcome, thy fury tame,
Who all things else hast stoutly overcame :"

and then, smiling, said, "We will not further dispute of this matter," and turned his speech to other occasions.

He foresaw and foretold many things; as, the combustion which rose in Germany; saying, "I am very much afraid, that if the princes give ear to Duke George's ill counsel, there will arise some tumult, which will destroy all the princes and magistrates in all Germany, and engage in it all the clergy." Of the death of Frederick Elector of Saxony, thus he writeth : "If God in heaven hath resolved in wrath to deal with us, that neither our prayers nor counsels of amendment can hinder it, let us obtain this, that our Josias may sleep in peace, though the world be left to go into its Babylon."

Of the covetousness of Germany, and the dearth there, thus he speaketh : "We fear famine, and we shall suffer it, and find no remedy for it. And whenas, without necessity, we are solicitous to prevent famine, like wicked and incredulous Gentiles, and neglect the word of God and His work; He will permit shortly a dismal day to come upon us, which will bring with it whole wainloads of cares; which he [we] shall neither have power nor means to escape." Divers other things he also foretold.

He had his health competently well, but that

sometimes he was troubled with the headache, especially in his elder years. Whereupon he was afraid of some violent apoplexy: and when he felt a swimming in his head, or noise in his ears, he used to say, "Lord Jesu, smite me gently; for I am absolved from my sins according to Thy word, and am fed unto life eternal by Thy body and blood. Thine apostle John and our elector were taken out of this world by this kind of death." He endured often temptations, whereupon he said, "All here are in health except Luther, who is sound in body, and without suffers at no man's hand in the world: only the devil and all his angels vex him."

He was of an indifferent stature, of strong body, of so lion-like a quickness of his eyes, that some could not endure to look directly upon him, when he intentively beheld them. They say that one of mild spirit, who could not endure in private to talk with Luther, was courteously used by Luther, yet was so pierced with the quickness of his eyes, that being amazed he knew no course better than to run from him. His voice was mild, and not very clear; whereupon, when on a time there was mention at table about Paul's voice, which was not very perfect and full, Luther said, "I also have a low speech and pronunciation." To whom Melancthon answered, "But this small voice is heard very far and near."

In the year 1544, the 17th of November, he finished his explication of Genesis; which was his last public reading in the university; which he concluded with these words: "Thus end I my explication on Genesis; God grant that others may more rightly and truly expound it than I have done! I cannot proceed further therein; my strength faileth me: pray for me,

that it would please God to grant me a quiet and comfortable departure out of this life."

In the year 1546 Luther, accompanied with Melancthon, visited his own country, and returned again in safety. Not long after, the Council of Trent being begun, and having sat once or twice, Luther was called again by the Earls [Counts] of Mansfeldt to his own country, for to compose a dissension among them concerning their bounds and heritages. Luther was not wont to deal in matters of this nature, having been versed in sacred studies all his lifetime: but because he was born at Eisleben, a town in the territories of Mansfeldt, he was willing to do his country service in this kind. Wherefore, making his last sermon at Wittenberg, the 17th day of January, he took his journey on the 23rd day; and at Halle in Saxony lodged at Justus Jonas's house, where he stayed three days because of the roughness of the waters, and preached, the 26th of January, upon Paul's conversion. On the 28th day, being Thursday, at Halle, he passed over the river with Justus Jonas and his own three sons, and, being in danger of drowning, said to Dr. Jonas, "Think you not, that it would rejoice the devil very much, if I and you and my three sons should be drowned?" When he came to the Earls of Mansfeldt, he was entertained by a hundred horsemen or more of the court, and was brought into Eisleben very honourable, but very sick, and almost past recovery: which thing, he said, did often befall him when he had any great business to undertake. But, using some means for cure of his infirmity, he sate at supper with the company; and so continued to do from the 29th of January to the 17th of February, and treated of the

differences for whose determination he came thither. In this time he preached sometimes, and twice received the Lord's Supper, and publicly received two students into the sacred order of the ministry; and at his lodging used much godly conference at table with his friends, and every day devoutly prayed. The day before his death, though he was somewhat weak, yet he dined and supped with his company; and at supper spake of divers matters, and among other passages asked, "Whether in heaven we should know one another?" when the rest desired to hear his judgment thereof. He said, "What befell Adam? He never saw Eve, but was at rest in a deep sleep when God formed her; yet when he awaked and saw her, he asketh not what she was, nor whence she came; but saith that she was flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone. Now how knew he that? He being full of the Holy Ghost, and endued with the knowledge of God, thus spake. After the same manner we also shall be in the other life renewed by Christ; and shall know our parents, our wives and children, and all about us, much more perfectly than Adam knew Eve at her bringing to him."

After supper, when he went aside to pray, as was his custom, the pain in his breast began to increase; whereupon, by the advice of some there present, he took a little unicorn's horn in wine; and after that slept quietly an hour or two on a pallet near the fire. When he awaked, he betook himself to his chamber, went to bed, and, bidding his friends good night, admonished them who were present to pray God for the propagation of the Gospel; because the Council of Trent and the pope would attempt wonderful devices against it. Having thus said, after a little

silence he fell asleep; but was awaked by the violence of his disease after midnight. Then complained he again of the narrowness of his breast;* and perceiving that his life was at an end, he thus implored God's mercy, and said :—

"O Heavenly Father; my gracious God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; thou God of consolation; I give thee all hearty thanks that Thou hast revealed to me Thy Son Jesus Christ; whom I believe, whom I profess, whom I love, whom I glorify; whom the pope of Rome and the rout of the wicked persecute and dishonour. I beseech Thee, Lord Jesus Christ, to receive my soul. O my gracious heavenly Father, though I be taken out of this life, though I must now lay down this frail body, yet I certainly know that I shall live with Thee eternally, and that I cannot be taken out of Thy hands."

He added moreover: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that every one who believeth in Him should not perish, but have life everlasting." And that in the sixty-eighth Psalm: "Our God is the God of salvation; and our Lord is the Lord who can deliver from death." And here, taking a medicine and drinking it, he further said, "Lord, I render up my spirit into Thy hands, and come to Thee." And again, "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit; Thou, O God of truth, hast redeemed me." Here, as one falling asleep, and without any bodily pain that could be discerned, he departed this life. And when Dr. Jonas and Cælius said, "O reverend father, do you die in the constant confession of that doctrine of Christ, which you have hitherto preached?" he answered, so as he

* [*i. e.*, The oppression at his chest.—Ed.]

might be heard, "Yea:" which was the last word he spake. Thus he in his native country, not having seen it many years before, died, much lamented by many. This fell on the eighteenth day of February, on the day in the calendar ascribed to Concord, about three o'clock in the morning, in the great climacterical year of his age.* Soon after his body, put into a coffin of lead, was carried in funeral manner to the temple or church of Eisleben; where Justus Jonas preached.

Then the Earls of Mansfeldt desired that his body should be interred within their territories: but the Elector of Saxony required that he should be brought back to Wittenberg. In the return thereof, which way soever it went, it was honourably attended, and with much grief accompanied out of each prince's dominion; and at length, upon the 22nd of February, in the afternoon, was brought to Wittenberg, and was carried into the temple near adjoining to the castle, with such a troop of princes, earls, nobles, there living as students, and other people, that the like was seldom or never seen in that town. When the funeral rites were performed, Pomeranus preached to an assembly of many thousands. And after that Melancthon, with many tears and sighs, made a funeral oration. When this was done, the coffin with his body was put by the hands of divers

* [That is, in the sixty-third year of his age. The old notion was that every *seventh* year of a man's life was a "climacteric," or critical year, involving some important change in his health or fortune; and that the seventh year multiplied by an odd number,—3, 5, 7, or 9,—became especially serious; the last product of this arithmetical process (63) constituting that terrible crisis, the "grand climacteric," when a man, it was supposed, would either take a fresh lease of life, rise to extraordinary good fortune,—or, like Luther, succumb to mortal disease, or some of the minor ills to which flesh is heir.—Ed.]

learned men into the tomb near to the pulpit, in which he had made many learned sermons before divers princes, electors, and the congregation of many faithful Christians. In a brasen plate his picture, lively deciphered, was there set up, with verses by it to this effect :—

THIS SEPULCHRE GREAT LUTHER'S CORPSE CONTAINS: THIS MIGHT SUFFICE; YET READ THESE FOLLOWING STRAINS.

Here, in this urn, doth Martin Luther rest,
And sweetly sleep in hope to rise most blest:
By whose rare pains firm faith and Christ's free grace,
Which formerly thick fogs of error base
And dusky clouds of works' desert hid quite,
Were well reduced to their ancient light.
For, when blind Superstition ruled all,
And did fair Truth long time suppress and thrall;
He, by God's Word and Spirit's inspiration,
The Gospel's light re-spread, for every nation;
And, well instructed by Paul's sacred voice,
(Scorning Rome's cheats,) to teach pure Truth made choice.
And as John Baptist in the wilderness
Did God's Lamp, who heals sin, preach and express;
So, O sweet Christ, did Luther clear Thy Book,
When all the world was caught with error's hook.
And what the difference was betwixt the Law
(Whose tables Moses brake, though God he saw
Upon Mount Sinai) and the Gospel sweet,
Which heals sin-conscious hearts, which God's wrath meet;
This difference lost to th' world he did restore,
That so Christ's gifts of grace might shine the more.

He stoutly did oppose Rome's cheats and charms,
And Papal rule, which wrought God's saints great harms.
Exhorting all, Rome's idols for to fly,
He many souls won to true piety;
And, maugre all Rome's threats and snares most sly,
Finish'd in faith his course most valiantly.
Dying in peace, his soul with Christ doth rest,
Crown'd with immortal glory, truly blest.
For which rare Doctor let both high and low
Bless God, that they so clear Christ's truth do know;
And pray the Lord that these his Gospel's rays
May to the world shine forth for dateless days.

Philip Melancthon.

Dead is grave Luther, worthy all due praise,
Who set forth Christ, in faith's illustrious rays.
His death the church laments with sighs sincere,
Who was her pastor, nay, her patron dear.
Our Israel's chariots and horsemen rare
Is dead; with me let all sad sables wear;
Let them their grief in groaning verses sing;
For such sad knells such orphans best may ring.

Theodore Beza.

Rome tamed the world, the pope tamed Rome, so great;
Rome ruled by power, the pope by deep deceit.
But how more large than theirs was Luther's fame,
Who, with one pen, both pope and Rome doth tame!
Go, fictious * Greece, go tell Alcides, then,
His club is nothing to great Luther's pen.

* [*i. e.*, "Lying;"—*mendax* in the original Latin.—Ed.]

JOHN MAJOR.

By Luther's labours Leo X. is slain;
Not Hercules' club, but Luther's pen 's his bane.

JOACHIM À BEUST.

When Luther died, then with him died most sure
A crown, and credit of religion pure.
His soul soar'd up to heaven, on Concord's day,
Which tended Luther thither on his way.
Dear Christ, since Discord follow'd with coats rent,
Give to Thy spouse Elijah's ornament.

Upon his tomb-stone the University of Wittenberg, as to her beloved father, engraved :—

MARTINI LUTHERI S. THEOLOGIÆ D. CORPUS.
H. L. S. E. QUI ANNO CHRISTI MDXLVI. XII.
CAL. MARTII EISLEBII IN PATRIA S. M. O. C. V.
AN. LXIII. M. III. D. X.

Luther's writings were published at Wittenberg and Jena, in several tomes, both in Latin and German tongue. Part of them were expositions of Scriptures, part doctrinal, part polemical. Of these this was his own judgment : "Above all, I beseech the godly reader, and I beseech him for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, that he would read my writings judiciously and with much pitying my case."

In wedlock he lived chastely and godly above twenty years ; and, when he died, left three sons, and Catherine de Bora a widow, who lived after his death seven years. To her it was a great grief that her husband died in a place far from her, so that she could not be with him, and perform the last conjugal

offices to him in his sickness. In the time of the war which presently followed, she wandered up and down with her orphans, and in banishment was exposed to many difficulties and dangers. And, besides the miseries of widowhood, (which are full many,) the ingratitude of many did much afflict her; for where she hoped for kindness in regard of her husband's worthy and noble deserts of God's church, often she was put off with great indignity. When afterward her house at Wittenberg in time of pestilence was infected, she for her children's safety, as became a godly mother, betook herself to Torgau, where was also an university. But in the way, when the horses affrighted ran out and seemed to endanger the waggon, she, amazed not so much for her own as her children's preservation, leapt out of the waggon, whereby, poor wretch, she grievously bruised her body in the fall; and, being cast into a pool of cold water, caught thereby a disease, of which she lay sick three months in banishment; and, pining away at length died quietly in the year 1552.

Well fare those gentle quills (whose'er they be)
Whose meritorious labours shall set free
The urn-imprison'd dust of that renown'd
Thrice famous Luther! Let his head be crown'd
With sacred immortality, and raised
Much rather to be wondered at than praised.
Let babes unborn, like fruitful plants, bring forth
To after days new monuments of his worth
And time-outlasting name: that Babel's whore
And all his bald-pate panders may ev'n roar
For very anguish, and then gnaw and bite
Their tongues for malice, and their nails for spite;

Whilst men made perfect in his well-known story
May all turn patrons, and protect his glory.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF DESIDERIUS ERASMUS.

His surname [*Roterodamus*] implies the place of his birth. Rotterdam is a city of Holland; Holland the seat of the ancient *Batavi*; but more illustrious by the production of one pen, than by all her former harvests of pikes. Seven cities, no contemptible portion of witty and work-like Greece, accounted the nativity of Homer so great an access to their other glories, that they seriously contested about it. Although Homer (because antiquity will have it so) be greater than Erasmus, yet little Rotterdam hath more to boast of in him, than great Athens, Smyrna, Rhodes, Colophon, Chios, Salamis, or Argos, in the other. For it is certain, Erasmus was born at Rotterdam; but, pitch upon what city of those seven you please, it is six to one whether Homer was born there or not. But what talk we of Rotterdam? Rhenanus sticks not to impute his nativity to the fortune of emperors, and felicity of the whole German empire: within the limits whereof he was born, upon the vigil or eve of Simon and Jude, under Frederick III.; but in what year of our Lord, or that emperor's reign, is not remembered. This is certain, in the year of grace 1519 he was either fifty or fifty-two.

His mother's name was Margaret, daughter to one



DESIDERIUS ERASMUS.

Peter, a physician of Zavenberg [Sevenberghen]; his father, Gerard. These accompanied together secretly, (but not without promise of marriage,) until the young woman proved with child. Gerard's father was named Helias, and his wife Catherine: each of them lived till past ninety-five. They had ten sons, without any daughters, all married, except Gerard, who was the youngest save one. All of them much resented this clandestine combination and commixture betwixt Gerard and Margaret: wherefore, to prevent their marriage, to gain his portion to themselves, and yet not lose a brother, able in time to feast them at his own cost; they resolve, out of *ten*, to give Gerard, as the *tithe*, unto God; that is, to dedicate him to the church: whereby perceiving himself excluded from marriage, and not yet resolved to enter into holy orders, he fled to Rome. By the way he wrote back to his friends; the reason of his journey he intimated by the impress of his seal, which had one hand infolded in another. In the mean time Margaret was brought to bed, and the child (the subject of this discourse) cheerfully received and carefully nourished by his grandmother.

Gerard, after his arrival at Rome, maintained himself by his pen; for he wrote an excellent hand, and printing was not then found out, or but in the infancy. In process of time the copying out of learned books begat in him a love to learning itself; so that, besides his knowledge in the tongues both Greek and Latin, he became a considerable proficient in the laws; which he might the more easily do, Rome then abounding with many learned and able scholars, and he himself having the happiness to be a hearer of Guarinus.

His father and brethren, having certain intelligence of his being and well-being at Rome, fraudulently advertise him by letters that she was dead whom he intended to marry, and therefore advise him to dispose of himself to his best advantage; which he rashly believing, out of mere grief, became a pries [and] applied himself wholly to those studies which he judged most instrumental to his function. After his return into Holland, (where by the pope's favour he obtained a benefice,) though he plainly saw how he had been deluded, yet would he never thereafter keep her company, or she marry any other. Notwithstanding, he took especial care for the liberal education of the child, whom he put to school when he was yet scarce four years of age.

From Utrecht,—where for the sweetness of his voice he had been chosen chorister; and after some years spent (but without any notable proficiency) in reading, writing, music, and the elements of grammar,—he removed him to Daventry.* That his tender years must not want a nurse, his mother (impatient of his absence) accompanied him. What learning that semi-barbarous school afforded was formerly raked out of Ebrardus, and Johannes de Garlandiâ. This was also in the fate of Erasmus, to find there before him Alexander Hegius, skilful in Latin, and not ignorant in Greek; having had Rodolphus Agricola and Guarinus Veronensis, the one for his companion, the other for his schoolmaster: together with Zinthius, a man not unlettered, considering the times; who, perceiving in Erasmus an admirable wit, joined with an incomparable memory, promoted him to the third

* [Not the English town of that name, but *Deventer*, a town of the Netherlands.]

class, and, dismissing him with a kiss, foretold he should become the envy and wonder of all Germany. And indeed the event came nothing short of his prophecy.

At Daventry [Deventer], in the thirteenth year of his age, his mother died of the plague; and with her most of the family where she lodged. Those sad and sudden news so affected Gerard, that within a few days after he followed her to the next world whom he was not permitted to enjoy in this. Which caused Erasmus (now an orphan) to return into his own country; where he found three curators or guardians assigned him by his father. (The chief was one Peter Winkell, a schoolmaster,) These three trusty Trojans, in hope to make a booty of his patrimony, instead of an university, for which he was ripe, resolve to serve him into a monastery. From Daventry, therefore, they committed him to a convent of friars regular at Bois-le-Duc in Brabant. Here he lived—that is, (as himself expounds it,) almost lost—three years. Romboldus, their reader, partly out of affection, and partly prompted thereto by Winkell, did what he could to draw him to their order, but in vain; he had already seen enough to dissuade him from that, or any other fraternity of that kind.

Whilst he remained a recluse at Bois-le-Duc, he became intimately acquainted with Hermannus Gaudensis, a learned young man and a notable student, by whose persuasion and help he most accurately read over almost all the classical authors extant in the Latin tongue, whether in prose or verse. But whilst, for bettering his mind, he overcharged and neglected his tender body, he fell into a tertian ague. His guardians lay hold on the occa-

sion, press him again and again to a regular profession, to blandishments add threats, leaving no stone unrolled, in prosecution of their perfidious design. He excuseth himself modestly, and by many arguments defendeth his denial; but they, pricked on by avarice, resolve not to be satisfied with reason.

Wherefore from Bois-le-Duc they hurry him to Sion, a monastery near Delf. At Emmaus, a neighbouring convent, it was his fortune to meet with Cornelius, his companion and chamberfellow at Daventry [Deventer]; by whose importunity, rather than arguments, he was persuaded to spin out his probation year at Emmaus; which almost finished, through poverty, which hindered his present removal, and shame to seem averse from religion, though he persisted in his opinion, he made a shift for some few days longer to dissemble his resolution. In the mean time, Henricus à Birgis, a nobleman by extraction, and bishop of Cambray, preparing for Rome, in hope of a cardinal's cap, wanted nothing so much as ready money, and a young man skilful in the Latin tongue, to accompany him. This fell out pat for Erasmus, whose great abilities in that kind being reported to the bishop, he thought it needless to go further and speed worse. And Erasmus, (now in sacred orders,) to avoid the profession he so much disaffected, readily undertook the journey. The bishop of Utrecht, with the consent of the prior and general of the order, was easily persuaded to license his departure; but Cambray, in whom avarice counterpoised ambition, choosing rather to keep his old mitre with his money, than purchase a new hat at so vast a sum as was demanded, upon better consideration stayed at home. This made

Erasmus, fearing his inconstancy in other things, beg leave to prosecute his studies at Paris; which he obtained, with promise of a yearly pension for his better encouragement, and many other good-morrows, which, like other great men in like cases, he never performed.

At Paris, in the college (named) of the Mount, he studied school divinity, applying himself therein, according to the custom of the place, to the precepts and principles of Scotus, who, for his great wit and inextricable distinctions, was there chiefly followed and in greatest admiration. But these conimbrums,* whether *real* or *nominal*, went down with Erasmus like chopped hay, having some show, indeed, of solidity, but scarce the substance of a mere shadow. He was a sworn enemy to whatever savoured of barbarity; and here he found nothing, whether for food or physic, but *Rabarbarum*, unless you will needs reckon rotten eggs, and a stinking infectious chamber, into the bargain; which in process of time so poisoned his dainty and amiable complexion, as enforced him to quit the place, and return to his old patron, the bishop of Cambray: with whom he not only advanced his private studies, but screwed himself into the familiar acquaintance of many famous and learned men, amongst whom the principal were Antonius Abbas, and Jacobus Battus, recorder of Bergen.

Having recovered his health, he returned into Holland, with a full purpose to settle himself in his own country: from whence, notwithstanding, whether by advice of friends, or upon some emergent discouragement, he went immediately back to Paris. Where

* [Riddles: an old spelling of our modern *conundrum*.—Ed.]

the pestilence raging for a long time without intermission, and benevolences coming either short or but slowly from the bishop, for his private supply he was forced to make a journey once every year into Holland, to the great interruption of his other employments. This made him lend a more willing ear to the motion of young Montjoy, who, being at that time a traveller in France, made choice of him for his tutor; and thereafter invited him into England, where his civilities far exceeded his munificence. Howsoever, upon this occasion he began here first to be taken notice of.

At his return, there befell him a very shrewd misfortune in Dover, where all the gold he brought with him, or [which] was given him by way of *viaticum* here, (no inconsiderable sum in a poor scholar's purse,) except five pounds, was seized and taken from him by the customers.* He was not ignorant of the danger, but Sir Thomas More persuaded him that no foreign coin was liable to such forfeiture. It is strange a man so well seen in the laws could be so foully mistaken; but more strange that neither he, nor the Lord Montjoy at any time thereafter, interposed with the king in his behalf. Perhaps, being a lavish and indigent prince, they knew him inexorable in such cases.

All men expected some bitter invective, and not without reflection upon the whole nation, should have followed this barbarous plunder, executed upon so poor, and yet so conspicuous, a stranger. But he patiently swallowed the gudgeon, whereby he infinitely gained upon the affection of the English; and

* [Used here in the old meaning of Custom House officers.—Ed.]

was so far from any thought of revenge, that not only in a treatise written of purpose immediately thereafter, he made honourable mention both of the king and kingdom; but, having recruited in Holland, he forthwith returned into England, drawn thither by his affection to Grocinus [Grocyn], Linacre, More, Pacæus [Pace], Colet, Latimer, and Tonstal,—stars of prime magnitude in the British orb; who, because they honoured learning, strove which of them should most honour Erasmus. In England he did read publicly at Cambridge; in Germany, (after his return,) at Louvain; being thereto invited, and accommodated with lodgings, by Johannes Paludanus, the rhetorician. From Louvain he visited France, and was from thence the third time drawn over into England, by many large promises; which proving in the performance but tympanous clouds, or not with child of so much moisture as he expected, made him resolve for Italy; perhaps out of desire both to know and be known in that country; than which Europe affords none, whether for arms or arts, more accomplished.

To itch [eke] out his travelling charges, he agreed with Baptista Boeria, physician to King Henry VIII., to accompany his two sons to Bononia [Bologna]. By the way, as he passed the Cottian Alps, he was created Doctor of Divinity at Taurinum [Turin]; thereby importing into Italy, what others usually exported, learning and honour. At Bononia (besides other professors) he gained the acquaintance of Paulus Bombasius. Beroaldus died before his arrival; and his death was the more lamented, because his successor, Baptista Pius, a bad critic, but

no better antiquary, vomited up nothing in his chair but *Oscos et Volscos*.* Here he dismissed Boeria's sons, not so much for their own petulancy as the morosity of their father; finished his "Adages," or "Proverbs," whereof he had given the world an essay or taste formerly at Paris; and laid aside his monastical habit assumed at Emmaus, where he was a probationer, and until that time constantly retained, —upon this occasion. At Bononia [Bologna], chirurgians [surgeons] appointed triers of the plague wear white linen napkins hanging transverse their shoulders, and tied with a knot to their girdle, as friars do scapulars; that others, fearful of infection, may, if they please, avoid them in the streets. Erasmus, going abroad somewhat early one morning, was met in a narrow lane by a company of mad shavers, who, perceiving his white scapular, and thereby mistaking him for a trier, after insinuation by signs (but by him not understood) to get him out of their way, they took up stones, wherewith they had undoubtedly pelted him, if others, invited by the noise into their balconies, whence they beheld both the mistake and danger, had not speedily run down and pulled off his scapular. To prevent such morning salutations for the future, by a dispensation from Julius II., confirmed by Leo X., he changed his regular habit of friar into that of a secular priest. I see no great reason he had to usurp the habit, since he despised the profession; or why he troubled two popes about

* [That is, nothing but *bad* Latin. The Osci and the Volsci were amongst the most ancient tribes of Italy, whose differing dialects contributed to the formation of the Latin language; the Oscan surviving as a separate provincial tongue long after the tribe itself had been merged into the conquering race, and its name furnishing a synonym for false Latinity. —Ed.]

such a trifle: but he is past twice one-and-twenty, let him answer for himself.

After a year and three months' stay at Bononia, he saluted Venice; where he printed his "Adages," gave us a new edition of Plautus and Terence, with the distinction and structure of their verses, reprinted his *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia*, two tragedies of Euripides, and added to his numerous acquaintance Ambrosius Nolanus, Baptista Egnatius, Paulus Canalis, a patrician, and Hieronymus Alexander Mottensis, who, for his skill in the tongues, was afterwards promoted to a cardinalship. He lodged at the house of Andreas Asulanus, and was supplied with all things necessary by Aldus Manutius, who likewise supplied him with divers Greek manuscripts, but extremely corrupted, all which at his better leisure he read over and corrected at Padua. The principal were Pausanias, Eustathius, the interpreters of Lycophron, Euripides, Pindarus, Sophocles, and Theocritus; being therein assisted by Marcus Musurus Cretensis and Scipio Carteromachus; the one incomparable for his skill in history and mythology, the other for his ingenuity.

His spare hours he bestowed upon his pupil Alexander, the young archbishop of St. Andrews, and brother to James King of Scots, whom he accompanied to Senæ [Siena] in Etruria, and, there leaving him for a short time, went to Rome; where fame as his harbinger had already taken up his lodging in the affection of most of the inhabitants. It is incredible with how great applause of all sorts of people he was received into the city. The pope offered him a room amongst his penitentiaries,—a place both of profit and credit, and a step to the highest preferments in that

court. Raphael Cardinal St. George, John Medici, afterwards Leo X., and Ægidius Viterbiensis, outvied one another as much in their gifts as compliments. But he, having seen Phædra, famous for extemporary eloquence, and reputed an actor nothing inferior to old Roscius, returned, according to promise, to his late and royal charge; in whose retinue he took a general view of most parts of Italy as far as Cumæ, where, (not without some religion* and horror,) amongst other monuments of antiquity, he beheld the Cave of Sibylla.

Here the archbishop was recalled into Scotland, and soon after unfortunately slain by his father's side, in a battle fought against the English, at what time King Henry VIII. besieged Tournay by the procurement of Julius II. And Erasmus, rather satiated than satisfied with Italian delights and rarities, began likewise to turn his face homeward. Shaping his course by the Rhetian Alps, he passed first to Curia [Coire], thence to Constance, and so through the Martian Forest [Schwarzburg] by Brisgoia [Brisgau] to Argentoratum or Strasburg, and from thence by the Rhine into Holland: where [he] had no sooner saluted his friends at Antwerp and Louvain, but he immediately took shipping for England. Upon his arrival William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, collated him to the rectory of Aldington in Kent; whereof he accepted somewhat unwillingly, alleging how inconvenient it was to abridge those of any part of the benefice, who discharged the whole office. "But," replied the archbishop, "who ought more to be maintained by church benefices, than those by whom the church is most benefited? Curates are indeed instructors

* [Used here, in the Latin sense, for "dread," "reverential fear,"—Ed.]

within their particular charge, but Erasmus instructeth the instructors."

To express his thankfulness for this and many other favours received in this kingdom, he honoured Dr. Colet, dean of Paul's, and founder of the school called *Catechizationis*,* with the inscription of his books *De Copiâ Verborum et Rerum;* whereupon he said merrily that he was turned bankrupt, and had no more to part with. His "Adages," the third time revised, and enlarged with divers treatises translated out of Plutarch, he dedicated to his old Mæcenas the Lord Montjoy: his emendations and censures upon St. Jerome's Epistles, an unparalleled work, to his unparalleled benefactor, the lord archbishop of Canterbury. Longer he intended to have stayed; but, hearing that Frobenius, at the request of many French and German universities, had undertaken to reprint his "Adages" at Basil, and having both them and St. Jerome's Epistles ready for the press, at which he was desirous to be present, setting all other business aside, he took the most compendious way thither. Frobenius he found in his grave, yet was not disappointed of his welcome, that was abundantly supplied by his sons Bruno and Basilius, and John Frobenius, his kinsman, in whom the old man still survived, both for his skill and honesty. They quartered him under the same roof with Amerbachius; whom, after St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, he found wholly employed in the restitution of St. Jerome; wherein at first he used the help of John Reuchlin, a civilian, but afterwards fell upon a more happy critic, Johannes Conon Norimbergensis, the Dominican; who out of worm-eaten manuscripts supplied what he found

* [See the Life of Colet, p. 116 of this volume.—Ed.]

wanting, corrected many places depraved, and replaced not a few formerly disjointed. The work was brought to such perfection before his arrival, that, leaving the rest to Amerbachius, (except when his judgment was required in the variation of manuscripts,) he appropriated unto himself the only volume of his Epistles; whereunto he prefixed arguments, and added brief but judicious illustrations. Many are of opinion that it cost Erasmus more oil and want of sleep in repairing such breaches as time and ignorance had made in them, than it did the author in penning them. To this great work succeeded a greater, and much more profitable,—his edition of, and annotations upon, the whole New Testament, which, as the chief instrument of our salvation, he dedicated to the chief bishop, (as he supposed,) Leo X.

From Basil his private affairs drew him into the Low Countries. He arrived at Aquisgrane [Aix-la-Chapelle], at what time Charles V. was inaugurated emperor; and was present at the Diet of Worms as one of his council, being thereto admitted before the death of Silvagius the chancellor. The Diet ended, and Tournay surrendered to the emperor, he made what haste he could back again unto Basil; from whence the world first saw and admired his Paraphrase upon the Four Evangelists and St. Paul's Epistles: a work uncertain whether undertaken or received with greater alacrity: in composing whereof, he applied himself, amongst the Latins, to Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Hilary; amongst the Greeks, to St. Chrysostom, and his follower Theophylact. The contexture and style were his own. The whole he dedicated, by parts, to Charles V. and Ferdinand his brother: by both he was

highly esteemed, and might, if he pleased, have been as richly rewarded. But since preferment and he ran on (not by chance, but choice) like parallels, some may wonder how he supported so vast a charge as the setting forth of so many books of his own, the emendation of so many written by others, and (which was an antecedent to both) the purchase or transcription of so many manuscripts, (to say nothing of his frequent and expensive travels,) must needs draw upon him. There is no better way to clear this doubt, than, before we go any further, to measure his great esteem with the greatest of his contemporaries, by the correspondence he held with them, and their munificence towards him.

When he was scarce crept out of the shell, he pronounced a panegyric of his own composure before Philip, father to Charles V., as he came out of Spain into Germany; for which he honoured him with a yearly pension during life. King Henry VIII. of England wrote to him with his own hand; offered him a goodly house (belike some dissolved abbey) worth six hundred florins yearly; and besides gave him several tastes, rather than surfeits, of his princely bounty. Francis, the French king, wrote likewise unto him after the same manner, (as appears by his letter yet extant,) offered him a bishopric, and one thousand florins *per annum*, to set up his rest in France. Charles V. offered him a bishopric in Sicily, made him of his council, and besides many other expressions of his liberality, bestowed upon him a yearly pension of two hundred florins. Ferdinand, his brother, King of Hungary, made him a tender of four hundred florins yearly, with promise to make them up five hundred, to profess at Vienna. Sigismond

[offered him] as much to come into Poland, and further with a royal and liberal hand supplied his present necessities. Mary Queen of Hungary wrote to him often, and ever with her own hand: her bounty, without question, equalled her exceeding humanity. Anne Princess Veriana* gave him a yearly pension of one hundred florins. Frederick Duke of Saxony presented him with two medals, the one gold, the other silver; which, in a letter to Spalatinus, he prefers before two Attic talents. George Duke of Saxony [presented him] with divers ingots of silver digged out of his own mines, and a great drinking bowl of the same. William Duke of Giulick† imitated him in the latter, but outstripped him in the capacity.

Adrian VI., to whom he consecrateth *Arnobius*, wrote to him thrice; which grand respects from the pope much abated the fury of the friars his enemies: and there is no doubt but he largely contributed towards the charge of that work, undertaken especially for his own honour. He congratulated the papacy to Clement VII., who in requital sent him five hundred florins, and by his apostolical letters invited him to Rome. Paul III. had brought him into the college of cardinals, but that he was prevented by death: in the interim he sent him a collation to the præpositure [priorship] of Daventry [Deventer]; which he refused, saying he was now near the end of his journey, and hoped to get thither without it. William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, changed his prebend into a pension, and scarce ever wrote to him but in letters of gold. His last token was a gelding; of whom he

* [Anne Borselle, (Lat., *Bersala*,) wife of Philip of Burgundy; to whom she brought, as part of her dowry, the lordship of Vere (*Ter-Veer*) in the Isle of Walcheren.—Ed.]

† [Jülich, or Juliers, in Rhenish Prussia.—Ed.]

used to say, that though he wanted original sin, he was guilty of two mortal ones,—sloth and gluttony. Cardinal Wolsey, a stately prelate, and not easy of access, yet wrote unto him letters full of singular humanity; and, besides other remembrances, bestowed on him a pension out of a prebend in York. The bishop of Lincoln, and Rochester, bountifully supplied him upon all occasions; Hammond and Urswick sent him a brace of geldings; Polydore Virgil, money to buy a third; Cromwell the first, out of his sacrilegious brokage, at twice, thirty angels. Montjoy, More, Tonstal, and Colet, were his continual supporters; to say nothing of many others within this kingdom.

Cardinal Matthæus offered him a yearly pension of five hundred ducats to live at Rome, and sent him a cup of beaten gold. He received another of the same metal, but greater and more curiously engraven with sundry poetical fancies, from Albert, archbishop and cardinal of Mentz. Cardinal Gampegius [Campeggio], amongst other tokens, sent him a diamond ring of no mean value: Stanislaus Olmucensis, a silver bowl double gilt, with four pieces of gold, the coin of ancient emperors. The bishop of Basil offered him for his society half his bishopric, which, alluding to the name, [*Basil,*] he termed "half his *kingdom.*" Thurzo, bishop of Vratislavia [Breslau] went ten days' journey out of his way to behold him; and you must not imagine that when they parted he gave him nothing. Another of the same name sent him four watches, four ingots of pure gold, and a muntiro * lined with rich sables: Christopher Schidlovitz, chancellor of Poland, a clock, spoon, and fork, all of

* [A *montero,* (Span.,) a hunting or riding cap.—Ed.]

pure gold: Peter, bishop of Cracovia, thirty ducats: Johannes Paungarnerus [Baumgartner], a good quantity of gold uncoined, with a silver bowl of no mean capacity; Rinkius, another; Fuggerus, a third;—all gifts (as himself jested) not unbefitting a Hollander: Jacobus Piso, two pieces of ancient coin, the one gold, the other silver, resembling Gratian and Hercules: Vigilius Zuichemus, a gold ring, which, explicated,* became an exact celestial sphere: and William Earl of Eisenberg, a dagger, which, by the inscription, he wished in the heart of his enemies.

Besides these, he held intercourse by letters, and was often supplied by Erastus Duke of Bavaria, Croyus cardinal of Toledo, and Alphonsus Fonseca archbishop of the same, Dominicus cardinal Crimanus, John cardinal of ——, Bernard cardinal of Trent, John Sylvagius chancellor of Burgundy, the bishop of Paris and Bayonne, Erardus Leodiensis, Philippus Trajectensis, Christopherus Augustanus, Jacobus Sadoletus, Ennius Verulanus, Hugo Constantiensis, Aloisius Marlianus, Conradus Wircemburgensis, and Antonius à Bergis abbot of St. Bertin's. This may seem a large nomenclature of friends, patrons, and acquaintance; and yet a far larger might easily be gathered out of his own epistles and prefaces. This, (whatsoever it is,) I am sure, without wrong to posterity, could neither be omitted nor contracted, seeing thereby we should either deprive him of the honour of so great friends, or them of the glory of so great munificence.

What a *tot-quot* of archbishoprics, bishoprics, prebends, and fat parsonages might not this so patroned a clerk (had he had but the conscience to digest them) have accumulated under one *red hat!* But he declined

* [That is, when opened out.—Ed.]

civil preferments as not so suitable to his priesthood; and had he accepted ecclesiastical, he foresaw (having already so much spent himself to enlighten others) that he should either ruin his body by discharging, or his more precious soul by neglecting, them; and therefore chose rather to cast himself upon the benevolence of his friends, though with disparagement to himself, than with scandal upon the church, which, like a genuine apostle, he laboured to benefit, whether *gratis* or *ingratiis*. Learning was never at a greater loss or lower ebb, either in France or Germany, than he found it: within few years after the publication of his "Adages," and books *De Copiâ*, solecism (in both) began to be hooted at; presses to sweat under the "Institutions" of Theodorus the Grammarian, and other Greek authors newly translated into Latin; and all men who either were, or desired to seem, whether learned or promoters of learning, to blow the coal that was already kindled. To this only end and purpose Hieronymus Buslidius [Busleiden] bequeathed the greatest part of a very great estate; and Erasmus so prevailed with his executors, that, putting the money into one purse, they therewith founded and endowed a college in Louvain, wherein the three learned tongues are exactly taught by as many exquisite professors. He himself enlivened it with statutes. In emulation of the Spaniard, the French king shortly after erected just such another at Paris; and, because he would have it in nothing inferior to that at Louvain, sent a commission under his great seal to Erasmus to prescribe its statutes, and furnish it with professors; but he accepted not thereof, perhaps hindered by sickness, or some other employment. The Trojan horse was never more pregnant

with armed men, than those two colleges have been ever since with men learned in all those and many other languages.

His judgment was much questioned, especially beyond the Alps, for prostituting, in his *Chiliades*, so vast and invaluable a treasure of human learning to every purblind eye and vulgar capacity; in which wind Aldus Manutius suffered before him, for his commentaries upon Sophocles and Euripides; as though it were an essential of learning to be acquired only in Italy. But of all monopolies he abhorred that of learning most, accounting nothing too good to be communicated; nor any thing below him, that might bring others to the same height of knowledge whereunto he himself had already ascended. We cannot have a better proof of the one than his "Adages," or witness of the other than his commentaries upon Cato *De Moribus*.

France, I confess, may with great reason glory in Budæus. No man hath hitherto better discovered whatsoever belongeth unto money, whether you respect the Greek or Roman standard: his Commentaries of the Greek tongue, and Annotations on the Pandects, are two useful and excellent pieces. But Erasmus was nothing his inferior in humanity,* when first he applied himself to theology; a study, by Budæus, either not attempted, or prosecuted only upon the bye. The next who with best reason can be brought into this competition is Ludovicus Vives; who can hardly extend his parallel as far as Budæus; and therefore all I will say of him is, that he was born in Spain, bred in Italy; [but] Erasmus brought with him

* [In the Scotch sense, knowledge of the learned languages; *literæ humaniores*.—ED.]

more learning out of Germany, than he found in both. Who but Erasmus durst ever have attempted to bring a generation of supercilious and yet ignorant friars, bred up in mere sophistry and barbarism, to a true relish of divinity, as it is delivered to us by the fathers? most of whose works, miserably corrupted, he restored to their genuine and native splendour; others undertook what he was not able to overtake, provoked by his letters, or animated by his example: so that, directly or indirectly, he was the true cause of the restitution of all of them.

And yet this was but half his task: he found the discipline of the church in no better case than the doctrine,—this turned into sophistry, that into ceremonies; which he laboured to abridge, not to abolish; being as inseparable and proper unto religion, as shadows are unto substances: although we may truly account her far past the meridian, in that church, where she can hardly be seen, for the length of her own shadow. But how great soever his desire was to see church discipline purged, and restored to its primitive simplicity and integrity, he attempted nothing (with our late reformers) by way of tumult or schismatically. And yet this very attempt, though it never exceeded an unwearied and legal application to those in authority, bred him as many enemies as there were then wasps and hornets, who had wanted food if they had wanted corruption in that kind to have fed upon. Of these, some accused him of a correspondency — others, of a confederacy — with Martin Luther. The first he never denied; the second they were never able to prove.

As for the suspicion of Arianism, whereof envy itself durst not accuse him whilst he lived, I hold it a

calumny scarce worth the answering. All that can be said against him is only this, that he seems to extenuate (and it were to be wished he had employed his wit better) some testimonies alleged by the fathers against Arius, as not so convincing and ponderous as they imagined. But in all the nine great volumes of his own Works, there is not one *apex* positively for him [Arius], innumerable against him. He was the first man (I may not except Martin Luther) who with sobriety brought us from Hales and Holcot* to St. Cyprian and Augustine, from the fathers to the Scriptures themselves. If he had intended to promote heresy, his most compendious way had been, to have left both in the same obscurity he found them. But (which I am often necessitated to remember) by his Annotations he illustrated the one, and by his piercing censures removed such ignoble and spurious brats as after-ages, out of interest or ignorance, would needs have fastened upon the other. Some, not able themselves to judge betwixt imitating and aping, are bold to censure his style, (though, by their own confession, pure, copious, flexible, and extemporary,) as not every where elevated to the true light of the Ciceronian pole. He can run but goingly, who ties himself to another man's footsteps. Erasmus had his own genius as well as Cicero; held a bull as complete a creature as a baboon, and that most comely which was most genuine and masculine; not so much taken with the cadency and chiming of words, as the sententious density of the matter; and therefore rather chose with St. Augustine to retain some few words in common

* [Two English schoolmen: Alexander Hales, "the irrefragable Doctor;" and Robert Holcot, whose writings were once in great request. Both of them were commentators on the four Books of Sentences.—Ed.]

use, though less Ciceronian, than, by changing them into more eloquent, but less intelligible, torture his simple readers upon the continual rack of their dictionaries.

Many of his noblest works he elucubrated at Basil, the rest at Friburg, whither he was (in a manner) compelled to retreat by Bernard cardinal of Trent, doubtful what might befall him in the Reformation of religion at Basil. I commend the cardinal's providence; but in that Reformation there was no indignity offered to any clergyman's person, whether regular or secular: they had all free liberty to dispose of their persons, and personal estates, as they pleased. At his first coming to Friburg, he dwelt in a house sometimes inhabited by Ferdinand, uncle to Charles V., and built for a retreat to his old age by Villingerus his treasurer: which proving as much too big for Erasmus, as it was too little for Ferdinand, he purchased one of his own, and sold it within seven years after; at what time he was recalled into the Low Countries by Mary, queen of Hungary, who succeeded her aunt in the government of those provinces.

By the way he visited Basil, where he published his *Ecclesiastes*, and intended to finish several other of his works yet imperfect, before he passed into Holland. But he must pass no further, being arrested by a more violent fit of the gout than at any time formerly. His convulsions were so thick and vehement that oftentimes he was forced to go upon all four: he thought himself in a jumping condition, when crutches served his turn. In the intervals of his disease he resumed and renewed the great volume of his own Epistles, perhaps intending to set them forth more fully. As many of them fell into his hands, he

would say, *Et hic mortuus est:* but upon just account, when he found the number of his dead correspondents exceed the living, he burst forth into these words, *Nec ego diutius vivere cupio, si Christo Domino placeat:* "Nor desire I, if so it would please the Lord Jesus, to live any longer."

About the beginning of autumn, from the gout, he dropped into an hepatical flux; so that for a whole month together he came seldom out of bed, and but once over the threshold of his chamber. Yet whilst his body lay tortured upon this double rack, he wrote a treatise *De Puritate Ecclesiæ*, and made a hard shift to finish his Recognitions upon Origen. These were the two last songs of this dying swan, whose patience ever increased with his torments, and in the end surmounted them. He retained his speech to the last gasp, and breathed out his soul in these ejaculations: "Mercy, sweet Jesus! Lord, loose these bands. How long, Lord Jesus? How long? Jesus, Fountain of mercy, have mercy upon me;" and the like.

He changed this mortal life into an immortal, the twelfth day of July about midnight, in the year of grace 1536, and seventy-first or seventy-third year of his age. He foretold both the year and hour of his dissolution, the first many months, the other three days, before. Multitudes of people flocked to see and touch his dead body. The consul and senators of Basil accompanied it to the grave; few of the chief burghers were absent, none of the university. He lieth buried in the cathedral church, in a chapel consecrated to the blessed Virgin, and monument of Parian marble, frequently visited both by the citizens and strangers.

He was of a middle stature, well compacted body,

and of a sweet but tender complexion, which easily yielded to every little alteration, whether of air or diet. His hair inclined to yellow; his eyes were grey; his countenance amiable and cheerful, but somewhat of the palest; and his voice shrill, though none of the strongest. His apprehension was invincible, his judgment exact; and for memory, he knew not what it was to forget anything, except injuries: Terence and Horace he could have entirely repeated without book, when he was but a schoolboy. He was charitable to the poor in general, bountiful to poor scholars and travellers; so far from craft that he inclined rather to simplicity, and so free from suspicion that he often unbosomed himself to his friends (though but seeming) further than stood with his own safety. Such was his bashfulness that, though he had a good face, his picture was hardly extorted from him by extreme importunity. In the point of friendship he was of an unremoveable constancy; easily placable being offended: only he had such an antipathy with lying, that from his youth he would usually tremble at the very sight of a noted liar. His habit, neither garish nor sordid, spake him at the same time a priest to God, and councillor to Cæsar. His conversation was an exact mixture of sweetness and severity, without any the least admixture of pride, ambition, or avarice: which rendered him inflexible to embark in any thing interruptive of his studies, or destructive of his liberty. And though few have written either more or better; none, whose books have been further or more frequently exported; yet upon all occasions he used no less rigidity in the censure of his own works, than candour in giving judgment upon other men's.

He seldom enjoyed perfect health for any considerable time together. Abundance of rheum (the bane of a sedentary and cellish life) inclined him to the stone, wherewith he was often, and sometimes above measure, tormented. Eating of fish, the very smell whereof he abominated, drove him into many and dangerous agues, especially every Lent: and the gout was no stranger to his elder years. The monks and friars were generally his enemies, the greater by how much the more illiterate; and yet their successors, by his painful labours and example, are since become exquisitely learned. Before the fiftieth year of his age, no man wrote against him, he against none; resolved, if possible, not to imbrue his stile * in any man's reputation. The flame betwixt him and Dorpius was quickly quenched; Faber was the first who put him to a just apology.

By his last will and testament, (confirmed both by the emperor and pope,) he declared Bonifacius Amerbachius his heir; Hieronymus Frobenius and Nicholaus Episcopius overseers of his will: wherein to several friends he bequeathed several legacies; as a clock of gold to Ludovicus Berus; a spoon and fork of the same to Beatus Rhenanus; to Petrus Vetereus one hundred and fifty crowns; as much to Philippus Montanus; to his servant Lambert two hundred florins; to Brischius a silver tankard; to Paulus Volsius one hundred florins; to Sigismundus Tilenius one hundred and fifty ducats; to Erasmus Frobenius, his godson, two rings; to Hieronymus Frobenius his wearing clothes, bedding, and household stuffs; to his wife a ring wherein was set a precious stone, having therein engraven a women looking over her left shoulder; to Episcopius a fair silver bowl with a

* [His *stylus*, or "pen."—Ed.]

cover; to his wife a diamond ring; to Goclenius a silver bowl. His library he sold upon his death-bed to Johannes à Lasco. His medals, ancient coin, ready money and debts, with the remainder of his watches, clocks, rings, plate, jewels, and other curiosities of no small value, [he bequeathed] to his heir Amerbachius, not for his own use, but to be sold, and the money, by advice of the forenamed overseers, to be distributed: first, to the poor infirm persons, whether through age or sickness; secondly, to portionless virgins, to procure them husbands; and thirdly, to poor but hopeful young scholars, for advancement of their studies. His heir he restrained merely to his legacy, which was none of the greatest.

Concerning his own works he left nothing in charge at his death; as modestly doubtful of their genius, or how they might take with ensuing and more learned times. Whereof, notwithstanding, Frobenius was so confident, that immediately after his death he reprinted them (to his as infinite cost as commendation) in nine great tomes in folio; with promise of a tenth, (which never came forth,) containing only his animadversions, castigations, and censures upon the fathers, and other authors: whereof thou mayest behold both the names and number in this ensuing catalogue.

LIBRORUM ERASMICORUM CLASSIS PRIMA, QUÆ GRAMMATICEN ET ETHICEN SPECTANT.

De copiâ Verborum ac Rerum, Libri duo. Syntaxis in Usum Scholæ Coletanæ. Declamatio Tyrannicidæ Luciani respondens. De Ratione conscribendi Epistolas. De Pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis. De Ratione Studii. Laus Medicinæ. Similium Liber unus. Colloquiorum Liber unus. De rectâ Latini

Græcique Sermonis Pronuntiatione. Ciceronianus, sive de optimo dicendi Genere. De Civilitate Morum puerilium. Epitome in Elegantias Laurentii Vallæ. Carminum diversi Generis Liber unus. Adagiorum Chiliades. Epistolarum Libri xxxi. Apophthegmatum Libri viii. Moriæ Encomium, sive Laus Stultitiæ. Panegyricus ad Philippum Burgundionum Principem. Ad eundem Carmen gratulatorium. Institutio Principis Christiani. De Morte Declamatio. Declamatiuncula gratulatoria. Pacis Querimonia. Lingua. De Senectute Carmen.

LIBRI SECUNDÆ CLASSIS, QUI PIETATEM SPECTANT.

Enchiridion Christiani Militis. Oratio de Virtute amplectendâ. Ratio veræ Theologiæ. Paraclesis. Modus confitendi. Enarratio Psalmi, *Beatus vir.* Enarratio Psalmi, *Quare fremuerunt gentes?* Paraphrasis in Psalmum, *Domine, quid multiplicâsti.* Concio in Psal., *Cùm invocarem.* Enarratio in Psal., *Dominus regit me.* Enarratio in Psal., *Benedicam Domino in omni tempore.* Enarratio in Psal., *Dixi, Custodiam vias.* Concio in Psalm. lxxxv. De Puritate Ecclesiæ Christi. De Bello Turcis inferendo Consultatio. De amabili Ecclesiæ Concordiâ. De Misericordiâ Domini Concio. Virginis et Martyris Comparatio. Concio de Puero Jesu. Epistola consolatoria ad Virgines sacras. Christiani Matrimonii Institutio. Vidua Christiana. Ecclesiastes, sive de Ratione concionandi. Modus orandi Deum. Symbolum, sive Catechismus. Precationum Lib. i. Pæan Virgini Matri dicendus. Oratio ad Mariam in Rebus adversis. De Contemptu Mundi. De Tædio et Pavore Christi Disputatio. De Præparatione ad Mortem, Lib. i. Ode de Casâ natalicià Jesu. Expostulatio Jesu cum Homine

pereunte. Hymni varii. Liturgia Virginis Lauretanæ. Carmen votivum Genovefæ. Commentarius in duos Hymnos Prudentii de Natali et Epiphaniâ Pueri Jesu. Christiani Hominis Institutum. Epitaphia in Odiliam.

LIBRI TERTIÆ CLASSIS.

Novum Testamentum cum Annotationibus. Paraphrases in S. Matthæum, S. Marcum, S. Lucam, S. Johannem, Acta Apostolorum. Paraphrases in D. Pauli Epistolas ad Romanos, Corinthios 1, Corinthios 2, Galatas, Ephesios, Philippenses, Colossenses, Thessalonicenses 1, Thessalonicenses 2, Timotheum 1, Timotheum 2, Titum, Philemonem. Paraphrases in Epistolas SS. Petri 1, Petri 2, Judæ, Jacobi, Johannis 1, Johannis 2, Johannis 3, ad Hebræos.

LIBRI QUARTÆ CLASSIS, SIVE POLEMICA.

Epistola apologetica ad Dorpium. Epist. apolog. ad Jacobum Fabrum Stapulensem. Epist. apologetica ad Jacobum Latomum. Ad Atonsem pro Declamatione Matrimonii. Adversus Sanctium Caranzam. Apologia, de *In principio erat Sermo.* Apologiæ tres ad Notationes Edvardi Lei. Apologia adversus ea quæ in Novo Testam. ab Erasmo recognito et annotato taxaverat Jacobus Lopez. In Natalem Beddam de Loco, *Omnes quidem resurgemus.* Adversus Petrum Sutorem Carthusianum. Appendix de Scriptis Clithovei. Declamationes adversus Theologos Parienses. Ad Phimosthomum de Divortio. Ad Juvenem Gerontodidascalum. Ad Monachos quosdam Hispanos. Apologia contra Albertum Pium Carporum Principem. De Esu Carnium. De libero Arbitrio Collatio. Hyperaspistæ Diatribes Libri duo.

Purgatio adversus Epistolam Lutheri. Detectio Præstigiarum Libelli cujusdam. Adversus Pseudo-evangelicos. Ad Eleutherium. Ad Grunnium. Ad Fratres Germaniæ inferioris. Spongia adversus Aspergines Hutteni. Pantalabus, sive adversus febricitantem. Adversus Mendacium et Obtrectationem. Antibarbarorum Liber i. Ad quosdam Gracculos Epistola. Responsio ad Petri Curtii Defensionem. De Termino. De Vitâ, Phrasi, et Operibus Originis.

Besides these you have in the University Library at Oxford, not set forth by Frobenius,—

De novo Evangelio novisque Evangelistis Judicium. Auris Batava. Vita Coleti. Duo Diplomata Papæ Adriani cum Responsionibus. Detestatio Belli. Precatio ad Jesum, cum aliis Ejaculationibus. De Hollandis.

CLASSIS V. TRANSLATED OUT OF GREEK.

Ex S. Chrysostomo: Adversus Judæos, Homiliæ v. De Lazaro et Divite, Hom. iv. De Visione, Hom. v. De Philogone Martyre, Hom. i. De orando Deum, Libri ii. De Davide et Saul, Libri iii. Quàm Presbyter esset designatus, Hom. i. In Psalm., *Cantate Domino*. Quàm Sarionius et Aurelianus acti essent in exilium, Hom. i. De fide Annæ, Hom. ii. Commentariorum in Acta Apost. Hom. iv. Commentariorum in Secundam ad Cor. Hom. vii. In Epistolam ad Galatas. In Epistol. ad Philipp. Hom. ii.

Ex S. Athanasio: De Spiritu Sancto Epistolæ ii. Contra Eusebium de Nicænâ Synod. Ep. ii. Apologetici duo adversus eos qui calumniabantur quòd in Per-

secutione fugisset. De Passione Domini, Hom. i. De hoc quod scriptum est in Evangelio, *Vicum qui contra vos est.* De Virginitate. De Peccato in Spiritum. De Spiritu Sancto.

Ex S. Basilio: Principium Esaiæ. De Spiritu Sancto, Lib. i. De Laudibus Jejunii, Lib. ii.

Fragmentum Origenis in Evang. S. Matth.

Euripidis Hecuba; Iphigenia.

Theodori Gazæ Grammatices Lib. ii.

Declamatio et alia quædam ex Libanio.

Ex Plutarcho: De Discrimine Adulatoris et Amici. Quo pacto capi possit Utilitas ex Inimico. De tuendâ bonâ Valetudine. Principi maximè philosophandum. An graviores sint Animi Morbi quàm Corporis. De Cupiditate Divitiarum. An rectè dictum sit ab Epicuro, *Λάθε βιώσας*. De cohibendâ Iracundiâ. De Curiositate. De vitiosâ Verecundiâ.

Galeni Exhortatio ad bonas Literas. Isocrates de Regno administrando, ad Nicoclem Regem. Tyrannus Xenophontis.

Luciani Saturnalia. Cronosolon, sive Leges Saturnaliciæ. Epistolæ Saturnales. De Luctu. Icaromenippus. Toxaris. Pseudomantis. Somnium, sive Gallus. Timon. Abdicatus. Tyrannicida. De Mercede Conductûs. Dialogus Cnemonis et Damippi,—Zenophantæ et Callidemidæ,—Menippi et Mercurii,—Menippi, Amphilochi, et Trophonii,—Charontis et Menippi,—Cratetis ac Diogenis,—Nirei ac Thersitæ,—Diogenis ac Mausoli,—Simyli ac Polystrati,—Veneris ac Cupidinis,—Doridis ac Galateæ,—Martis ac Mercurii,—Mercurii ac Maiæ,—Diogenis ac Alexandri,—Menippi et Chironis,—Menippi et Cerberi. Hercules Gallicus. Eunuchus. De Sacrificiis. De Astrologiâ. Lapithæ, sive Convivium.

CLASSIS VI. FATHERS AND OTHER AUTHORS SET FORTH, CORRECTED, AND COMMENTED UPON BY ERASMUS.

Augustini Opera omnia, x. Tomis. Hieronymi Opera omnia, ix. Tomis. Cypriani Opera omnia. Irenæi Opera. Arnobius.

Ciceronis Officia. De Amicitiâ. De Senectute. Paradoxa.

Quintus Curtius. Suetonius. Ælius Spartianus. Julius Capitolinus. Ælius Lampridius. Vulcatius Gallicanus. Trebellius Pollio. Flavius Vopiscus. In Nucem Ovidii Commentarii. In Catonem de Moribus Commentarii. Notæ in Plautum. Notæ in Terentium. Notæ in Quintilianum. Notæ in utrumque Senecam.

Two books of his *Antibarbarus* were lost in England; many of his most elaborate declamations, at Rome: two books *De Eucharistiâ* he finished, but suppressed. He left imperfect at his death a just Commentary upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; with many other treatises, since crept into other men's works. And it is to be noted that the *Index Expurgatorius* hath made more bold with no man's books than with his; so that the first impressions are infinitely the best.

This famous and renowned writer,
Erasmus, author and inditer
Of many learned works of worth,
Which in his lifetime he set forth;
Was, for his learning and rare parts,
His wit, his wisdom, skill in arts
And languages, and virtues rare,
Wherein he justly might compare



ULRIC ZUINGLE.

With his contemporaries best,
In such esteem and high request
With all the princes, potentates,
And learned clerks of all the states
In Christendom, which knew or saw him,
That they contended who should draw him
To live with them, him to enjoy,
And with them his rare parts t'employ:
Sending him many gifts most great,
His presence with them to entreat.
But, crown'd at last with honour's bays,
In Basil he did end his days,
As full of years as fragrant fame;
Leaving behind an honour'd name.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF HULDERICUS ZUINGLIUS.

In the year of our Lord God one thousand four hundred eighty and seven, Huldericus Zuinglius, the angel of the church at Tigurum [Zurich], was born, and on the first of January, in a little village which in the language of the Switzers is called Wild-house.* He was descended from pious, virtuous, and religious parents; his father also being a man advanced unto great dignity and authority amongst the Switzers in regard of his approved and well-deserving parts.

He by daily observation (without doubt, to his great comfort) seeing and perceiving more than an ordinary towardliness in his son; and beholding a future worth to discover itself, even from his infancy

* [*Zum Wildehause.*—Ed.]

and cradle; not only for the advancement of the glory of God, but also for the benefit and profit of his native soil and country, (therein conferring a more charitable and friendly censure on him than that schoolmaster on Themistocles,) and causing others also to make trial of his ingenious disposition, who beheld his natural parts with astonishment and admiration; he was very careful to perfect nature by art, and for that cause (his age condescending thereunto) he committed him unto the tuition of a certain schoolmaster, living not far from the place of his birth, to be instructed and trained up in the elements and grounds of the Latin tongue: with whom in short time, by reason of the vigilancy and watchfulness of the one, and the carefulness and industry of the other, he attained, not without great applease,* to that discretion and judgment, that he esteemed those things which were read unto him, as a subject fitter and more convenient for duller brains than for his quick and ready apprehension.

This proceeding therefore not answering his expectation, he removed thence; and, being not yet fully ten years old, he was sent unto Basil, a city in Germany situate upon the river of Rhine, where he obtained for his tutor Gregorius Bintzlius, eminent in those days for the excellent endowments of learning and piety wherewith he was invested; under whom this Huldericus attained unto that perfection both in civil behaviour and learning, that he seemed always to exceed, outstrip, go beyond, and carry away the victory from those who were his contemporanean

* [It is difficult to determine whether this is a misprint for *applause*; or whether the writer—using the licence of his day, when our mother-tongue was still in a very unsettled state—coined a word of his own to denote *application*, but with a more English-looking form.—Ed.]

schoolfellows. And that nothing might seem to be wanting to the perfection of so hopeful a plant, he reached unto the knowledge of the science of music, wherein he showed himself so excellent and so complete an artist, that his judgment, compared with the tenderness of his years, enforced his spectators to the greater admiration; and his master Bintzlius, well perceiving that his studies and learning were incongruous and too mean for so apt and so virtuous a disposition, sent him back again unto his father, together with his judicious opinion concerning him, advising him to provide otherwise for him, and to search out for such a master whose learning might be correspondent unto the promptness of his natural disposition.

His father being joyful with this approbation of his master, and also fearful lest these springing virtues should suffer an eclipse by the interposition of that odious vice of idleness, he forthwith sent him unto Berna [Berne], a famous city in Switzerland, to be instructed and brought up by Henricus Lupulus, a man well learned, and excelling in poetry; from whom, through the reading of classic writers, he became a good orator, and got some knowledge in the art of logic. Having now spent at Berna almost two years, and longing after the knowledge of philosophy, whose ground and basis was already laid, he removed unto Vienna, a famous city of Austria, situate on the river Danubius [Danube], where he not only attained to the knowledge of philosophy, but he also augmented and perfected those things which in former time he had learned. And having spent here some few years, he returned again to Basil, where he first began to employ that talent which God had bestowed

on him; for here he began first to teach others that which he himself had learned. And having spent some time in the instructing of others, and in furnishing himself with the knowledge of the liberal arts, he was advanced unto the title of Master; which being obtained, he forthwith addicted himself (being guided thereunto by the Spirit of God) unto the study of school divinity. Wherein he remained silent for a while, being rather a spectator than an actor; until he was called by the Glareanes to the discharge of a pastoral function and office amongst them; where, with all alacrity and cheerfulness, he finished that which had been formerly begun by others.

And by this means having received holy orders, he gave himself wholly to the study of divinity; spent all his time in searching into the Old and New Testament, that so he might be able not only to speak, but also to judge of the Scriptures. As for the writings of the ethnics, he did not greatly esteem and account; only he made use of Valerius Maximus, who, by reason of the variety of his examples, he perceived, would be beneficial unto him.

But because he well understood that he could have no sound judgment concerning the Scriptures, nor concerning the writings of pious and learned men, unless that he were well skilled in the tongues; he forthwith betook himself to the study of the Greek tongue; wherein in short time he so well profited that the Greek seemed more easier unto him than the Latin, and he better able to judge of a Greek than of a Latin author. And for the better understanding of the tongue, he used help of the best lexicons and translations; and with them translated

St. Paul's Epistles, committing them all to memory, and other books of the New Testament. But when he had found it written in St. Peter that the Scripture was not of private interpretation, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, beseeching the Holy Ghost, and earnestly wrestling with Him by prayer, that He would be pleased so to illuminate his understanding that he might rightly and truly understand the sense and meaning of the Holy Scriptures; so that he might neither deceive himself, nor lead away others with a false image of the Spirit.

Having thus in some measure fitted himself for the beating down of sin, and advancing and furthering of the truth; he then first began to condemn the Helvetian pensions,* labouring to overthrow them, and to reduce and bring back again former sanctity and worship into the country. And hence hatred and reproachful speeches had and took their beginning against this good, pious, and laborious man; who, notwithstanding this affront at the first showing of himself for the glory of God, and that in his own country, cheerfully proceeded preaching the Gospel, and endeavouring rather as yet to plant truth in the hearts of his auditors, and to cause them fully to understand it, rather than to open and to discover unto them the vices and wickednesses of the whore of Babylon.

Not long after, occasion being offered, and D. Theobaldus Gerotzeggius desiring or rather earnestly entreating the same, he departed from Glarona [Glaris], and went to Eremus, there intending to continue

* [These "pensions," as Melchior Adamus explains, were rewards bestowed by princes on certain men, for providing soldiers and other necessaries of warfare.—Ed.]

for a time. But indeed the chiefest cause of his repairing unto that place was the happy opportunity of preaching Christ and His truth unto divers remote and foreign nations, being at that time gathered together unto that place from all parts of the world.

In the mean time it fell out that the church of Tigurum [Zurich] was destitute of a curate or priest. Many there were which greatly laboured to bring in Zuinglius. He, being altogether ignorant of this matter, comes to Tigurum: where, being demanded by a certain canon who accidentally met him, whether he could preach the word of the Lord unto those of Tigurum, he presently answered that he could: upon which answer he is called unto the church of Tigurum, not without the great joy of many godly-minded persons. And that which he promised, he began with happy success to perform, (the Lord being with him, and giving a blessing unto his labours,) in the year of grace one thousand five hundred twenty and one. During the time of this happy proceeding of his at Tigurum, the Switzers had taken great notice of the name of Martin Luther, by reason [of] many of his writings which in all places came unto their hands. These he exhorted them to read and to peruse, that so they might perceive the unity of the spirit drawn out of those holy writings in them both, and so by that means nothing doubting but that they would be the more willing to consent and to give place unto the truth.

This is also remarkable in the godly man, that, notwithstanding his continued pains in the discharging of his pastoral office, he omitted not his reading of the difficultest Greek authors, for the preserving of

that knowledge which he had formerly gotten; and, not ceasing here, he adventured on the Hebrew; wherein, by the help and assistance of some who were his associates, he profited so much that he was able aptly to expound the two major prophets, Isaiah and Jeremiah.

About the same time Franciscus Lambertus, a friar Minorite, forsaking his monastery, came to Tigurum [Zurich]; who disputed publicly with Zuinglius concerning the intercession of the saints, and concerning the sacrifice of the mass; but, being easily confuted, he recanted, confessed his error, and gave thanks unto almighty God, that had prepared so excellent an instrument to open his eyes, and to show unto him clearly the knowledge of the truth.

This his denial of the intercession of the saints and sacrifice of the mass stirred up Hugh bishop of Constance to make an opposition against him, insomuch that Zuinglius was enforced to declare publicly unto the world that which he believed concerning those and other differences betwixt himself and the church of Rome; by reason whereof his report and fame was brought unto Adrian VI. then pope of Rome, who forthwith wrote unto him after this manner:—

"Beloved Son, greeting and apostolical benediction.

"We send our venerable brother Ennius, bishop of Verulam, our domestic prelate and apostolical nuncio, a man wise and trusty, unto that strenuous and warlike nation which hath been friendly and faithful unto us and to our apostolical see; that he may treat with them about serious affairs, which concern not only us and our see, but also the whole Christian commonwealth. Now although we have straitly

commanded him that he shall relate those things in public before all in general, yet nevertheless, seeing that special notice is given unto us of those excellent virtues wherewith thou art endowed, we cannot but entirely love and greatly rejoice in thy zeal, reposing a special kind of confidence in thee. Wherefore we have commanded the same bishop our legate, that he deliver these our letters unto thee in particular, and withal to declare our great affection towards thee. Finally, we exhort you to be zealous in the Lord, and to repose all your confidence in Him: and look, with what affection we tender your honour and preferment, we desire the same from you in respect of our [affairs], and the affairs of the see apostolical: and for which you shall find no small favour at our hands.

"Given at Rome, January 23rd, 1523, and in the first year of our popedom."

Letters were also written by the same pope unto Franciscus Zinggius, to this intent, that he should not be wanting to use all means to draw and to allure this godly man to the profession of the doctrine of the church of Rome: which Franciscus being demanded by Myconius, what reward the pope had promised unto him, on condition that he could persuade Zuinglius to revoke his opinion; he seriously answered that, Peter's chair excepted, he had promised him all things else.

Whence it is evident that the devil and his members laboured as much as in them lay to hinder the knowledge of the truth of Christ, and to detain men in blindness and ignorance. And hence we may observe the constancy of this holy man, who could not be allured to forsake and fall from the truth of God

and of His word, no, not for all the preferments of the world, esteeming, with Saint Paul, all things as dung in respect of Christ.

The Gospel now with the blessing of God being received and embraced of the Tigurins,* and gathering strength every day more and more, Zuinglius began to enter into a serious consideration of changing the form of things present into a better state and condition, reducing the monks and priests unto three orders: some for labour, some for marriage, some for learning; because the number of them seemed greater than might serve for the use of religion.

Being busied about this reformation, there crept in the heresy of the Catabaptists, who forbad the baptizing of infants, and did rebaptize themselves. With these Zuinglius dealt friendly at the first, disputing with them, and convincing them of their errors; but they being obstinate in their opinions, he caused the senate severely to punish them, some with imprisonment, some with death.

But, to return again, his alteration of the state at Tigurum [Zurich] concerning priests and monks, and the decree against pensioners being by his means sealed and comfirmed, caused him to be every way surrounded with enemies, who waited daily and hourly to take away his life; and also in the night season; insomuch that he durst not walk abroad without a strong guard to defend him from his enemies, who used openly in the streets all reproachful speeches against him. And these wicked and ungracious villains, when they saw that they could neither prevail against the Gospel, nor against this good preacher of the Gospel, then they bent all their

* [The people of Zurich.—Ed.]

forces against those who were obedient to the word of God, imagining nothing but mischief towards them, always intending their destruction and ruin.

Hence it was concluded and resolved on to take up arms for the defence of the truth of the doctrine of Christ; and they all enter into a new league, the old being notwithstanding no way violated, but remain[ing] firm, and that by the great labour and industry of Zuinglius: not that he intended any thing hurtful unto his country, but to extirpate and to root out their vices, and to plant in it firmly the doctrine of the Gospel, both for the glory of God, and also for the good of all Switzerland: for he desired nothing more than that all nations might confess the Lord Jesus; and therefore he exhorted those that were his friends, and which stood up for the truth of Christ, to undergo the hazard of their lives in so good a cause, with these express words following:—

"That which heretofore I have written unto you, I exhort you unto it still, beseeching you to remain constant and immovable, and not to be afraid of your enemies; for that peace which some so greatly urge and press is open war, and not peace; and that war which we are to undertake is peace, and not open war: for we do not thirst after any man's blood, neither do we desire to spill it by such tumultuous actions; but this we maintain and defend, that the nerves and sinews of an oligarchy are to be cut off; and unless it be, the truth of the Gospel and the ministers thereof will never have any safe and quiet residence and dwelling amongst us. Alas! it is not cruelty that we think of, but our actions are both fatherly and friendly. We desire to be a means to

save those who are like to perish through ignorance. Our greatest ambition is to preserve our liberty. Therefore do not so much estrange yourselves from our determinations. You shall find them more peaceable and more just than some have related unto you. You are apt to believe those which speak false of us, who notwithstanding hitherto have had good and sufficient trial of our truth and of their inconstancy,—I will not say, lies. In this show yourselves to be men, that ye remain constant and immovable as we do, for our faith towards God and men. In a word, let not fear dismay you; for through the goodness of God we shall so behave ourselves in this league, that it shall neither purchase shame nor grief to yourselves."

Thus did he cheerfully animate and encourage these his friends to fight for the glory of God; and, to give sufficient testification of his zeal towards God, he was himself present in person in two several battles fought betwixt them near unto Capella [Cappel], a monastery situated in the fields of Tigurum [Zurich]. Unto the first he came freely of his own accord, that he might be present at their consultations, and to see that there were no declining from truth and equity. This battle was finished without the shedding of blood, concerning which he was often heard to say, that he had seen more malice and more wicked counsel in it, than he knew all his lifetime either by experience or from reading.

Unto the second he was elected and chosen as chief commander; and, being unwilling at the first to undertake such a burden,—the ground of that quarrel being something displeasing unto him, it

being only *commeatûs denegatio*,*—yet at the last he resolved to go, presaging, as it were, his own death by the uttering of these words: *Scio, scio quid rei sit; ut ego tollar fiunt omnia:* "I know, I know, how the case stands now; all these preparations are for my ruin and destruction."

Wherefore, being well horsed and completely armed, he followed the Tigurines in the rear, being ready to join battle. He went not forth as a captain or commander of the army, but as a good citizen and faithful pastor, who would not forsake his friends in their greatest peril. In this battle Zuinglius was slain, together with three hundred eighty and three of his confederates; it happening on the eleventh day of October, in the year of our Lord 1531, after that he had preached the Gospel of Christ at Tigurum [Zurich] the space of twelve years, and at Glarona [Glaris] and Eremus the space of eleven years; himself being forty-four years of age.

They which were near unto him when he fell, wounded even unto death, heard him utter these words: "What misfortune is this? Well, they can indeed kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul." Being in this misery, he was demanded by his enemies, whether he would yield unto papistical invocation of the saints. Being not able to speak, he refused it apparently by the motion of his head; and by the lifting up of his eyes to heaven, he gave them to understand, that he would invoke and call on none but on the Lord above. Wherefore in a raging and cruel manner [they] took his life away from him; con-

* [Stopping the supplies of provisions which the hostile cantons conveyed through the territories of Berne and Zurich.—Ed.]

demned his body to be cut in four quarters, and to be burnt unto ashes in the fire.

Some of his faithful friends, greatly lamenting his death, came full of sorrow unto the place where his body was burnt, and, lightly moving the ashes, found his heart sound and untouched with the flames; some ascribing it unto the power of God, who by this miracle would declare unto the world both his innocency and also his zeal; others spending their judgments accordingly as they were affected toward the person.

And this was the end of the godly minister of Christ, whose great desire for the advancement of the truth of Christ will clearly show itself, by those painful and learned labours of his which are extant in the church, being comprehended and contained in four tomes.

TOME I.

1. A work of Articles. 2. An Exhortation to the whole State of Switzerland. 3. A Supplication to the Bishop of Constance. 4. Of the Certainty and Purity of God's Word. 5. An Answer unto Valentine of the Authority of the Fathers. 6. Institutions for Youth. 7. A good Shepherd. 8. Of Justice Divine and human. 9. Of Providence.

TOME II.

1. Of Baptism. 2. Of original Sin. 3. Of true and false Religion. 4. An Epistle to the Princes of Germany. 5. Of the Lord's Supper. 6. Of Christian Faith, written unto the French King.

TOME III.

Commentaries on, 1. Genesis; 2. Exodus; 3.

Isaiah ; 4. Jeremiah. Psalter out of Hebrew into Latin.

TOME IV.

1. Annotations on the four Evangelists. 2. History of our Saviour's Passion. Annotations on, 3. The Romans ; 4. Corinthians ; 5. Philippians ; 6. Colossians ; 7. Thessalonians ; 8. Hebrews ; 9. James ; 10. John Epist. 1.

They that are willing to engage, and prove
Themselves true soldiers in the field of love,
Must follow Zuinglius, whose ample glory
Affords the world an everlasting story.
Ye prelates of these times, stoop down and see
The wisdom, valour, and the constancy
Of this renowned father ; whose deserts
Ought to be printed in all noble hearts.
He fell with honour ; and all those that fall,
Guarded with truth, deserve a funeral
Adorn'd with angels, that all tongues may say,
Here lies religion's and the church's stay.
Brave Zuinglius died (though it be hard to do)
A valiant soldier, and a martyr too.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN COLET.

John Colet was born in London, of honest and wealthy parents. His father was twice lord mayor of that famous city ; to whom his mother (a chaste and fruitful matron) brought forth eleven sons, and as many daughters : of which numerous offspring



JOHN COLET.

UNIV. OF MICH.

John Colet was the eldest and sole survivor; the rest died before their father, whereby he became heir to a very considerable fortune. And yet nature to him was no less indulgent than fortune, being endowed with all the symmetry almost imaginable in a tall and comely person.

In his younger years he gave himself to the study of philosophy; and in the seventh [year] after his matriculation in the university obtained his degree of Master in Arts,—an honour not so much given to his standing, as due to his knowledge in the liberal sciences; in none whereof he was ignorant, in some exquisitely learned. All Tully's works were as familiar unto him as his Epistles; neither was he any stranger to Plato and Plotinus, whom he not only read, but conferred and paralleled, perusing the one as a commentator upon the other. As for the mathematics, there is scarce any part thereof wherein he was not seen above his years, certainly above expectation.

Having thus feathered his nest at home, he began to look abroad, and improve his stock in foreign countries. In France he added his humanity,* what he thought necessary, to the study of divinity; which thereafter he effectually prosecuted in Italy. Amongst the ancients he was most taken with Dionysius Areopagita, Origen, St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, and St. Jerome. With St. Augustine, (whether out of singularity or judgment,) amongst all the fathers, he seemed most disguised.† And yet he did not so

* [See note, p. 86.—Ed.]

† [Probably a misprint for *disgusted*,—not, however, in our strong meaning of the term, but with the milder and more strictly etymologic sense, *to have a distaste for*.—Ed.]

mancipate* himself to antiquity, but that, as occasion served, he sometimes surveyed Aquinas, Scotus, and other schoolmen. In a word, he was seen in both laws; and singularly well read in history, both civil and ecclesiastical. And because he saw that England had her own Dantes and Petrarchs as well as Italy, who have performed the same here that they there; those, and these, he both read and diligently imitated; accommodating thereby his style to the pulpit, and preaching of the Gospel.

After his return from Italy, he made choice to live at Oxford, where he publicly, but freely without stipend, expounded all St. Paul's Epistles, when he was not yet full thirty years of age. At Oxford, Erasmus and he became first acquainted, who witnesseth (to his no small commendation) that though at that time he was neither graduate nor candidate in theology,—that yet there was neither doctor, abbot, nor master in the whole university, who frequented not and (which is more) took notes of his lectures. Howsoever, before he left the university, they honoured him with the degree of Doctor; whereof he accepted rather to please the givers than himself.

From Oxford, and these sacred employments, he was called to London by King Henry VII., who bestowed upon him the deanery of St. Paul's; of all the deaneries in England the highest in the rank, but not the deepest in the manger: which Colet embraced rather as a burdensome charge than honour. And therefore, as soon as he had regulated his college of canons, and restored it to its ancient discipline, he resolved (which was not customary in those times) to preach every holy-day in the cathe-

* [*Enslave* or *bind* himself.—Ed.]

dral, over and above his sermons at court, and many other churches in the city, to one or other whereof the want of able predicants invited him almost every Lord's Day. In his own church he expounded the Scriptures, not by retail, but wholesale; running over, sometimes a whole Epistle, sometimes a whole Gospel. Wheresoever he preached, he was exceedingly followed, both by courtiers and citizens.

The dean's table, which in former times had been too much prostituted to excess and luxury, he reduced to temperance, and moderated by his frugality. For he restrained himself to one meal a day for many years together, both before and after his preferment; which at one blow cut off all his supper-guests, late dinners not a few; and the more, because his entertainment, though neat, was neither costly nor excessive, his sitting short, and his whole discourse attempered either to learning or piety. For, immediately after grace, his boy read a chapter, out of which he himself (for the most part) chose the theme or subject for that meal's discourse: wherein not only scholars, but idiots also his convives,* had their share, if he perceived their want of learning supplied with a good mother-wit, and ready natural judgment; casting one bone after another, until he dismissed them with no less satisfaction to their minds than refreshments to their bodies. For, although he hated prodigality and scurrility, he was no enemy to good company; who came more frequently, because with less charge, to his evening collations than set dinners; and with whom (commonly) he spun out a good part of the night in ventilating one point of divinity or other. If none

* [That is, illiterate persons who were his guests.—Ed.]

came, or such only as had no great felicity in these sacred Saturnals, having dismissed them with some few compliments, his boy read him a parcel of Holy Scripture, whereupon he usually ruminated till he went to bed.

In his travels, he was cheerful, but his chief companion was ever some chief [choice] book. Solecism he accounted the worst point of slovenry; affecting neatness in his household stuff and clothes, books, meat, and all things else; magnificence in nothing, much less prodigality. Black he loved above all colours, preferring it far before purple; which preserved his doctoral robes the longer. His upper garment was always of broad-cloth, and that too none of the finest, which, against hard frosts, he fortified with deep furs. Whatsoever accrued unto him by the church, he entirely committed to his steward, to be spent in housekeeping. His own hereditary rents and profits (which were great, for he was heir to his father and some of his brethren) he himself pursed up, and distributed to pious uses.

But, perceiving the manifold distractions which accompanied the managing of so plentiful an estate, he called in his father's debts, and sold his whole patrimony, which in the total amounted to a very great mass of money; and wherewith he erected and endowed that stately and famous Free School in St. Paul's Churchyard: whereunto he joined a fair dwelling-house capable of two schoolmasters, to whom he assigned liberal stipends, because they were to teach *gratis*. The whole fabric he divided into four parts; whereof one is (as it were) for your *catechumeni*, and beareth the inscription of *Catechizationis;* the second, for such as are under the usher, divided from the

third part by a veil drawn upon great curtain rods; and [the third] containeth only such youths as are disciplined by the chief schoolmaster; the fourth and last part consisteth of an oratory or chapel for prayer and other religious exercises. Above the master's head (if the Reformation have not pulled it down, and levelled him with his cross) standeth the Child Jesus, curiously engraven, and as it were in the posture of one reading a lecture, with this motto, *Ipsum audite:* whom the children, as they entered the school, were wont to salute with a sacred hymn, composed (if I be rightly informed) by Erasmus. Every "form" containeth sixteen, and the captain or *dux* of every class sitteth by himself in a pew or throne somewhat more eminent than the rest.

Great respect had wont to be had both to the *ingine* and *ingenuity** of the intrants. How matters are now carried, I know not. This is certain, though the whole amounted to an infinite charge, yet Colet would therein admit of no copartners. A hundred pounds left by a charitable citizen, for the advancement of the structure, he bestowed (with the bishop's licence) upon books and sacred vestments for the choir. And yet, though he would permit no layman to have a finger in the building, he intrusted no clergyman with the oversight of its revenues. As all men praised him for this school, so many wondered what he meant to build so magnificent a house for himself, within a curtilage† of the Carthusians, and so near the Honour of Richmond.

* [*Ingenium* and *ingenuitas* are, probably, here meant,—the genius or capacity, and the frank and honourable bearing, of the boys admitted as pupils.—Ed.]

† [*Cortilagium*, a low-Latin term for the fields or grounds lying near, and belonging to, any large house.—Ed.]

But, to take both the best and the worst together, he was by nature high-minded, impatient of injuries, much given to sleep, and (as he confessed, but not *sub sigillo*, to his best friend) no stranger to the temptations both of lust and luxury; a great admirer of witty jests, and inclinable enough unto covetousness: over all which imperfections, through grace, he became more than conqueror. For his haughtiness of mind and proud stomach he levelled even to humility, by the common grounds of reason and philosophy; being then best pleased, when he was most freely admonished. Covetousness he put to flight, by a charitable profusion of his whole temporal estate upon works of mercy and piety. Venery, sleep, and luxury, he nobly profligated by holy conferences, fasting, praying, indefatigable study, and often preaching: but yet so, that at great feasts, and in his entertainments of ladies and gentlewomen, where, without too much rigidity, he could not but give way to a more free and liberal discourse, a man might easily perceive the recoilments of his own natural and exorbitant proclivities:—so impossible is it for flesh and blood not sometimes to discover themselves, even in the most regenerate:—which made him almost abstain from all such meetings; or if he came, he commonly brought with him some learned second, with whom he conferred in Latin, *ne intelligerent sacerdotes*.

His custom was to begin and end dinner with the same dish, to content himself with one glass of beer, or two at the most; and though he loved rich wines, yet he drank of the best but very sparingly, knowing that all men's eyes then present were upon him. He had a wonderful happy wit himself, and was much

taken with it in others, especially young boys and maids, with whose natural purity, softness, and simplicity he seemed greatly affected; and the rather because our Saviour Himself commends in them those qualities to our imitation.

In many things he dissented from those who thought themselves learned; in some, from those who indeed were so: to whom only he unbosomed himself, especially if they were his friends. Your Scotists, who then seemed to monopolize and divide the whole stock of wit amongst themselves, he esteemed, of all others, the most dull, barbarous, stupid, and insufferable dunces. And yet of Aquinas (I know not upon what grounds) he had a worse opinion than of Scotus: in whose defence, when it was objected by Erasmus, (perhaps ironically, for he was no great friend to either,) that of all the ancient schoolmen Aquinas only seemed to have read the fathers; witness his *Aurea Catena;* and that some of his works were highly commended for stirring up men's affections to piety; Colet answered, "What tell you me of his reading, or stirring up affections? Unless he had been transported with the spirit of arrogance, he had never so rashly, and yet so magisterially and peremptorily, presumed to define all points of religion: and if he had not savoured too much of the flesh, he had not therewith mixed so much vain and fruitless philosophy."

He was no great admirer of monks, not that he hated the profession, but because he saw the professors lived not accordingly: wherefore, whilst he lived, he gave them little; when he died, nothing. And yet his intent and purpose was, to end his days in a monastery, if he could have found one qualified

to his mind. This, by many, was censured in him, that, although he himself lived most chastely, and, as Erasmus verily believeth, died a pure virgin, notwithstanding his natural inclination to the contrary, yet he had a very charitable opinion of such priests and friars whose greatest fault was their uncleanness. "For," said he, "these out of the consciousness of their own imperfection are (for the most part) humble, modest, and tractable: whereas the devil himself, were he not what he is, could hardly abide the pride, avarice, and hypocrisy of the other." Not that he thought incontinence a light sin, but intractability and pride far more incompatible with piety. And therefore, though it was his ill luck to live under a perverse and wrangling diocesan, (of whom we shall say more anon,) yet he was a true friend to episcopacy, by being a mortal enemy to such bishops as, under an hypocritical mask of sanctity, prostituted their sacred function to ambition and luxury.

Relative worship he held no such spur to devotion as some would make it; and was not far from their opinion, who think a notoriously wicked priest operates nothing by his consecration; for he abominated irregularity, especially in his own order, and could not but with indignation look upon those whose impure and contaminated lives gave the first rise and ground to this suspicion, whether true or false. In his judgment concerning public schools and universities, he was not only heterodox, but, like the bird spoken of in the proverb, clearly bewrayed divers symptoms of an exulcerated mind: but let that pass amongst moles in the most beautiful faces.

Secret confession he generally approved, as that whereby himself had received much comfort and

benefit; but as much disliked that which was too anxious, and descended to a needless enumeration of what can no more be numbered than the stars in heaven, or sand upon the sea shore. Priests here, in his time, officiated once every day; he contented himself with Sundays and holy-days; it may be, to set the greater edge upon his devotion, which by these intervals was the more sharpened, or perhaps to gain the more time for his private studies, the better to fit himself for his cathedral or pulpit employments. Learning he really loved, and laboured for; only that encyclopædical wisdom, which cannot be attained but by knowledge of all arts, and devouring of all books, he esteemed rather a learned sort of madness, than any true provocation to Christian simplicity and charity.

He deferred much to the apostolical Epistles; but when he compared them with that sweetness, wisdom, and majesty, which is to be found in our Saviour's own sayings and sermons, he thought them sapless, and scarce to be named the same day; which, as one of his paradoxes, I leave to be censured by the reader, for both proceed from the same Spirit. Howsoever, omitting the former, the latter he intended to trichotomize,* or reduce unto ternaries, but was prevented by death. God's worship and service (as much as in him lay) he performed with an equal decency and magnificence; and was no great approver either of their zeal or wisdom, who tied priests every day (those wherein they travel not excepted) to the private repetition of so many and long prayers: which perhaps he knew by experience they rather

* [Classify into three divisions.—Ed.]

mumbled over with their lips than considerately evaporated from their hearts.

He willingly and attentively read over many heretical books, professing he sometimes bettered himself more by them, than theirs who, without dispute, define what they please, and as they please. He endured not that any man should square his style by the rules of grammar or grammarians, but by reading and imitating the most approved authors: which opinion brought its own punishment with it; for, though he was eloquent both by nature and erudition, yet when he set himself to write in Latin, he often tripped, even in things common and obvious to every schoolboy; which did so much discourage him, that he never set forth anything. It were to be wished his modesty had not so much stumbled at this straw; for certainly, howsoever his expression had taken the ear, his conceptions could not have disrelished the understanding. But in this, as in many things else, he dissented from the common tenets and practice both of his own and former times; yet so as his private opinions never troubled the public peace.

His friends were as many as there were men of learning and candour in the whole kingdom. His greatest enemies were certain illiterate and irregular friars: and amongst these his own bishop, of whose sophistical Scotistry the dean made no great account, and the bishop as little of his Ciceronian divinity. The heart-burning went so far that at last it broke forth into articles: wherein the bishop, assisted by two of his brethren, almost as learned and cordat* as himself, accused him before the archbishop of Canterbury, that, preaching upon the triple *Pasce oves*

* [From the Latin, *cordatus*, "wise, prudent."—Ed.]

Meas, he expounded the first, by good example; the second, by sound doctrine, according to the common interpretation and consent of the doctors; but that in the third, which they expound *subsidio vitæ*, he had dissented from them; affirming that something else must be there understood, and that the apostles, being extreme poor, could not be bound to feed their flocks with what they had not themselves. Secondly, that in another sermon he had preached against worshipping of images: and thirdly, that in the same sermon he seemed to tap those who preached out of their note-books; which the bishop took to himself, for at that time he was aged eighty, and forced by this help to piece out a senile and decayed memory. The archbishop received the accusation, but answered it himself; not suffering Colet to be so much as summoned to his consistory.

Their second attempt at court succeeded little better; the occasion this:—The king being resolved upon a war with France, Colet was invited to preach at court. His theme was Christ's victory, in handling whereof he preferred the most unjust peace before the justest war. "For," said he, "when the evil, out of hatred or ambition, fight against the evil, and kill one another, there they fight not under Christ's, but the devil's banner;" showing how difficult a thing it was to die like a good Christian; how few followed the wars, not tainted with envy or avarice; and how almost [?] inconsistent brotherly charity is with sheathing our sword in the bowels of our brethren: concluding, that it was better for Christians to imitate in their warfare their blessed Lord and Saviour than either Cæsars or Alexanders. At this sermon (amongst others) were present the

bishop and two friars Minorites; whereof the one was the chief incendiary to the war, for which his ghostly counsel he was soon after rewarded with a bishopric; the other, an obstreperous and stentorian whoreson, who in all his sermons (which in all were not many) was sure to have a fling at poets and poetry; intending thereby to mump * Colet, who, though he had skill in music, yet never wrote a verse in his life: but so ignorant was the vulgar of that fry, in those days, that they knew not the difference betwixt a piece of Tully and Virgil, accounting all poetry that was not mere barbarism. These three made a grievous complaint of him both to the king and chief martialists,† as though Colet had done all this of purpose to weaken the hands of his majesty's forces, and discourage the commons from so noble and necessary expedition; and, to speak the truth, the king himself was somewhat startled at it. But in the Carthusian gardens at Greenwich, he gave his majesty such satisfaction, that, when most men gave him for lost, he never parted from the king, more loaded with promises both of protection and preferment; who enjoined him only, in his next sermon, to clear such misprisions and scruples as the common people and soldiery had ignorantly collected from his former; after which neither the bishop nor his Bricot ‡ durst meddle no more with him. But he lived not long to reap and enjoy the fruits of this double victory: for, after the third relapse into a pestilential fever, (a disease almost peculiar to the English,) he fell into a dysentery, whereof he died.

* [To jeer or mock at.—Ed.]

† [Warriors, or fighting-men.—Ed.]

‡ [Perhaps an epithet derived from the Italian, *bricco*, an "ass," or *briccone*, a "knave, vagabond."—Ed.]



ŒCOLAMPADIUS.

Some of his physicians judged him far gone in a dropsy; but, upon his imbowelling, there appeared no such thing to the anatomists, only the extremities of his liver seemed (as it were) bearded with certain rough and curled strings or pendents. He lieth buried in St. Paul's, upon the south side of the choir; a place designed by himself, and almost in the eye of all who pass that way.

Behold his emblem, whose admired worth
Few pens can prove sufficient to set forth
Unto the world; and much less mine, whose skill
Can be derived but from an infant quill.
He had a rare and well ennobled heart,
Whose rich endeavours gave a life to art:
He always was ambitious to embrace
(Although 't were seated in the meanest place)
True virtue; and he took delight to see
Youth well adorn'd with ingenuity.
Paul's School can witness that his liberal purse
Was ever open to reward the nurse
That gave true wisdom suck: therefore his name
Shall always ride upon the wings of fame.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN ŒCOLAMPADIUS.

In the year of our Lord God 1482, this worthy instrument of advancing the truth of Christ, Johannes Œcolampadius, was born at Weinsberg, a town situated in Germany; which year also was remark-

able for the birth of Georgius Spalatinus, who afterwards proved a faithful and laborious minister in the church of God; being sometimes chaplain unto the duke of Saxony.

His parents were greatly esteemed amongst their neighbours for their virtuous and civil demeanour, being endowed with a sufficient competency of outward necessaries, both for the supporting of themselves, and also for the education of such children as it pleased the Lord to bless them with. And with a great number of these they were for a time beautified; but it pleased God to take again those which He had given during the life of these parents; leaving unto them only this Œcolampadius, unto whom He had granted a longer life for the good and benefit of his church.

Both of them beholding the ingenious disposition of the child, and finding him to be capable of learning, they carefully sent him to be instructed and brought up in the rudiment of learning; his father intending, after he had attained unto some knowledge and perfection, to place him with a merchant, supposing that course of life to be the most fittest for him. But his mother being acquainted with this resolution of her husband's, and finding it not suitable to her own will, she never ceased from entreating him to desist from his intent, until such time as she obtained of him that he should continue longer in the schools, unto which there appeared in him a natural inclination; the Lord beginning even in his infancy to frame his mind unto that wherein He afterwards used him as His instrument for the converting of many unto Himself.

Not long after, his father yielding unto the re-

quest of his mother, who was as careful of Œcolampadius as ever Monica was of Augustine, he sent him unto Heilbronna [Heilsbronn], which place was famous in Germany for an exact training up of youth in the knowledge of the Latin tongue; where he having remained a few years, he removed him unto Heidelberg, an academy eminent both for the arts and tongues. Here he attained unto that perfection in learning, that at the age of fourteen years he proceeded with great approbation Bachelor of Arts. And unto his proceeding in the knowledge of human learning, he adjoined a religious and civil behaviour; persuading himself, *eum, qui proficiat in literis et deficiat in moribus, non proficere, sed deficere:* "that he which went forward in learning, without having respect unto an orderly carriage of himself, would prove to be retrograde in his motion."

Not long after he was graced with the title of Master of Arts, in the same academy; after which dignity conferred, by the advice of his parents, he went unto Bononia [Bologna], with an intent to apply himself unto the study of the civil law. But, because the alteration of the air proved adverse unto his former health, after that he had made trial for the space of half a year, and in that time finding no amendment, he returned again unto his father; with whom he remained until that he had recovered his former health, and then he went unto Heidelberg again; where, contrary to the will of his father, he left the study of the civil law, and gave himself wholly unto the study of theology, being thereunto led and guided by the Spirit of God. In the performance of which act he imitated the example of that burning lamp of the church, John Chrysostom;

the same act being also approved and embraced by Martin Luther, John Calvin, Peter Martyr, Theodore Beza, Lambertus Danæus, and others.

Here he began to acquaint himself with such schoolmen whose judgments in points of controversy were most approved of in that academy, as Thomas Aquinas, Gerson, and others. These he prosecuted with an indefatigable labour, studying them day and night, desiring the explanation of such distinctions which he could not understand, &c.

This more than ordinary industry procured unto him a general approbation, together with a certain demonstration of his future worth, not only in Heidelberg, but also in the adjacent places; insomuch that he was recommended unto that illustrious prince, Philip, Elector Palatine, who sent for him, and committed his youngest son unto his tuition, bearing always a reverent respect unto him, for the excellency of those parts wherewith he saw he was endowed. After that he had continued a season in this employment, and perceiving that courtly life to disagree with his natural inclination, he left it, and returned again (as one that had been long captivated) unto the study of divinity.

His parents perceiving that his mind was altogether set on that study, and having no other child but only him, they made use of that means wherewith God had blessed them for the procuring of a priesthood for him, in the town wherein he was born, unto which was also added the authority of preaching. Unto this place he was called; but, finding himself after a fortnight's performance to be unable to undergo so laborious an office, he desired leave to return again unto Heildelberg, for the furnishing of himself

with a greater measure of knowledge, that then he might return from thence better fitted for the discharging of that sacred function.

Having obtained leave, he alters his resolution, and shapes his course towards Tubinga [Tübingen], and from thence unto Stutgardia [Stuttgardt], where Reuchlin lived, a man famous for his excellent knowledge in the tongues. Here he stayed for a short space, during which time he received from him some light concerning the Greek; which being increased by daily exercise, he so well profited himself that he did set forth a Greek Grammar, at his return again to Heidelberg: where he also learned the Hebrew of a Spanish schoolmaster, whose evil nature was to envy that knowledge of that holy tongue in those that were his scholars.

Finding himself somewhat better provided by the addition of the tongues, he returns unto his native place, and cheerfully underwent his pastoral office, preaching Christ so powerfully unto them, that he was greatly admired of his auditors. Neither was he only excellent for doctrine, but also for his life and conversation, giving good example unto those unto whom he preached; being familiar always with the better sort; and especially with Wolfgangus Capito, with whom he was acquainted during his residence at Heidelberg. Their friendship being here renewed, it continued firm until they were separated each from the other by death.

During his discharge of his pastoral office in his native place, Wolfgangus Capito was called unto Basel, to be their public lecturer; which advancement caused him not to forget his old friend Œcolampadius, but rather moved him unto a considera-

tion, how he might be a means of promoting him unto a more eminent place; pitying that so bright a *lamp* of piety should obscure itself by being shut up and confined unto such a narrow and unregarded angle of the country. Wherefore he used all means to persuade the inhabitants of Basel, unto whom he commended the worth of the man, to invite him unto this city, and to confer a dignity on him correspondent unto his desert; which was no sooner uttered but they consented thereunto, and he was called unto the discharge of a pastoral office in that city, in the year of grace 1515. Where, after that he had received that function for the space of a year with great applause, he was honoured in the same academy with the title of Doctor, about the same time that Erasmus Roterodamus came to Basel, to set forth his Annotations on the New Testament; for the perfecting whereof he used the assistance of this Œcolampadius, in regard of the eminency of his parts, as he himself freely confesseth.

Which work being finished, he left Basel and went unto Augsburg, being called by the canons of the cathedral church to preach in that place unto the people. But here he remained not long, (partly because he feared, and had a distrust in himself, that he was not fit for so eminent a place; and partly by reason of that melancholy humour which was predominate in him, insomuch that he esteemed not the society of men, but would remove himself from them into some solitary place,) but departed from them, and entered into a monastery lying without the city of Augsburg, and consecrated unto St. Bridget; yet making his covenant so with the monks, that he would have liberty to study, and to believe what he would, and

to depart from them when he pleased; for, said he, *Etiamsi sexcentis juramentis me obstrinxero, nequaquam ea servare potero, si quando utilis ministerio verbi sum futurus:* "Although I should bind myself by the virtue of six hundred oaths, I shall not be able by any means to keep them, if at any time I shall perceive that any profit will come unto the church by my ministry."

The monks, perceiving his worth, joyfully received him into their society, bestowing all things liberally on him that he desired; and also acquainted him with all their privileges: and in general he found such content amongst them, for the space of a few months, that he intended to spend all the rest of his days in that lazy manner of life. But it pleased God to call him from this manner of life; and for that cause He stirred up his friends, and amongst them more especially Capito, who seriously persuaded and earnestly exhorted him to give over that monastical life; upon which persuasion he intended to forsake the monastery, and to betake himself again unto his former profession. And for a preparation thereunto, being as yet in the monastery, he set forth a book of confession, wherein in many things he opposed the doctrine of the church of Rome; whereby he brought himself not only into danger of his life, but the monks also were greatly afraid, lest any inconvenience might happen unto them by reason of his actions; and therefore they greatly laboured to free their monastery of him. During their plotting, he sharply reprehended them for their errors, persuading them to embrace and lay hold on the truth; whereby they came to be more and more incensed against him, and privately laboured with

his friends to be more earnest with him in the leaving of the monastery.

Having been resident in this place not fully two years, he departed, and went unto Franciscus Sickingen, a man nobly descended, by whom he was entertained; and in the same house he laboured to put down the mass, affirming it to be an idolatrous worship. But Franciscus being at that time greatly distressed with an unhappy war, he left him, and went to Basel, in the year of our Lord 1522, to publish such things as he had at vacant times collected.

Here he was again advanced by the senate unto a pastoral office, and an annual stipend designed unto him; which he performed with great zeal and constancy, to the glory of God and good of His church. Here he boldly discovered unto his auditors those errors which by continuance had got firm footing in the church; he opened unto them the perfection and sufficiency of the merits of Christ; he declared unto them the true nature of faith; he revealed unto them the true doctrine of charity; insomuch that the authority of the Popish religion began to stagger in the minds of many. Whilst he was totally occupied about these things, some there were who laboured to draw him again to the pseudo-Catholic religion; but more especially Johannes Cochlæus, who in the year 1524 wrote letters unto him, wherein he testified himself to be deeply afflicted with sorrow, to hear that a man so excellently learned should lay aside his cowl, and adhere unto such heretical opinions, and withal exhorted him to revoke his opinion, and to return again into the monastery, promising him a dispensation from the pope, and the favour of the

prior, which he had formerly enjoyed: but these and such like things were slighted by Œcolampadius, who, bringing them unto the word of God, found that they would not endure the trial.

In the performance of his pastoral office an assistant was appointed unto him by public authority; and he began to settle a more excellent reformation in the church, commanding the sacrament of baptism to be administered in the mother tongue, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be received under both kinds. He taught that the mass was not a sacrifice for the living and the dead, or for those who were tormented in their feigned purgatory; but that perfect satisfaction was obtained for all believers by the passion and merits of Christ. He dissuaded them from sprinkling themselves with holy water, and from the consecration of palms, and the like declaring unto them that they who did attribute virtue unto any such things did detract from the glory and power of God; which doctrine of his took such deep footing in the hearts of his auditors, that it gave a period unto many superstitious actions amongst them.

The foundation of future reformation was no sooner laid, but the old dragon began to play his part, and to discover his malicious envy against such things as make for the glory of God; either by hindering their proceedings, or laying some foul aspersion on them. For at that time broke forth that, yet continued, sacramentary dissension, by means whereof that good work begun in the church was hindered; Martin Luther at this time openly opposing and contradicting by writing the doctrine of Huldericus Zuinglius, pastor of the church at Tigu-

rum [Zurich], concerning the Eucharist; by reason whereof there was a great dissension betwixt the churches of Helvetia and Saxony; for the taking away of which Œcolampadius set forth a book containing the true understanding of these words, *Hoc est corpus Meum;* and by many strong arguments he affirmed that a trope lay therein. And yet his industry and labour therein took not away the contention betwixt the churches.

This intended reformation was again hindered by Eccius and his followers, who taught, (1.) That the substantial body and blood of Christ was in the sacrament of the altar; (2.) That they were truly offered up in the mass, both for the living and the dead; (3.) That the Virgin Mary and the saints were to be worshipped as intercessors; (4.) That the images of Jesus and the saints were not to be abolished; (5.) That after this life there was a purgatory.

These positions were vehemently opposed by Œcolampadius, at the public disputation held at Baden: the event whereof was this, some of the Helvetians subscribed unto Eccius, some unto Œcolampadius; and so there remained still a dissension amongst them which could by no means be taken away, although attempted by many worthy instruments of Christ, who have undergone many dangers for an effectual performance of the same. Yet Œcolampadius wrought so with the saints, that liberty of conscience was granted unto the citizens as touching religion.

In the year following there was a disputation held at Berne, which continued for the space of twenty days, wherein Œcolampadius laboured so powerfully for a reformation that his acts there recorded give a sufficient testimony thereof unto the world.

In the year 1529 an assembly was appointed by the landgrave of Hassia [Hesse] at Marpurg, touching a reformation in the churches; concerning which more in the life of Melancthon.

After the painful sustaining of so many labours at home and abroad, he returned to Basel, where he spent the residue of his life in preaching, reading, writing, setting forth of books, visiting the sick, and having also a care of the adjacent churches, until the year 1531, wherein it pleased God to visit him with sickness, wherewith he was constrained to take his bed, hourly expecting death. And forthwith sending for the pastors of the same place, he welcomed them with a short and pithy oration, wherein he exhorted them to remain constant and firm in the purity of the doctrine which they professed, because it was conformable unto the word of God. As for other things, he willed them to be less careful, assuring them that the all-sufficient God would care for them, and that He would not be wanting unto His church.

His children standing before him, he took them by their right hands; and afterwards, gently stroking their heads, he advised them to love God, who would be unto them in the place of a father.

A little before his death, one of his intimate friends coming unto him, he asked him, "What news?" He answered, "None." "But," said he, "I will tell thee news." Being demanded what it was, he answered, *Brevi ero apud Christum Dominum*, "I shall in short time be with Christ my Lord." In the morning before he died he repeated the fifty-first Psalm of David; at the end whereof he added, *Salva me, Christe Jesu;* being never heard afterwards to utter any word. Those who were present betook

themselves unto their prayers, wherein they continued, until he had surrendered his spirit unto his Creator; which was willingly and cheerfully performed by him, on the first of December, in the year of our Lord 1531, and in the forty-ninth year of his age; and [he] was buried with great lamentation in the same city.

He died intestate, *quia unde conderet, pauper Christi servus non habebat.**

He was of a meek and quiet disposition. In the undertaking of any business, he was very circumspect; and nothing indeed was more pleasing unto him, than to spend his time in reading and commenting. The works which he left behind him are these which follow.

1. Annotations on Genesis; 2. On Job; 3. Isaiah; 4. Jeremiah; 5. Ezekiel; 6. Daniel; 7. Hosea; 8. Amos; 9. Jonas; 10. Micah ii.; 11. On the three last Prophets; 12. On the Psalms; 13. Matthew; 14. Romans; 15. Hebrews; 16. First Epistle of John. 17. Of the genuine Sense of these Words, *Hoc est corpus Meum.* 18. An Exhortation to the Reading of God's Word. 19. Of the Dignity of the Eucharist. 20. Of the Joy of the Resurrection. 21. A Speech to the Senate of Basil. 22. A Catechism. 23. Annotations on Chrysostom. 24. Enchiridion to the Greek Tongue. 25. Against Anabaptists. 26. Annotations upon the Acts and Corinthians. 27. Of Almsdeeds. 28. Against Julian the Apostate. 29. Of true Faith in Christ. 30. Of the Praises of Cyprian. 31. Of the Life of Moses. 32. Against Usury.

* ["Because, as a poor servant of Christ, he had nothing to lay by."—Ed.]

Reader, behold the rare-adorned face
Of him, whose very looks import a grace.
He was a man whose constancy to truth
Ripen'd in age, and blossom'd in his youth :
He was a rock whose daring front disdain'd
Papistic waves : he still opposed, and gain'd
The upper hand, though threatening danger lined
Each word he spoke, yet would he speak his mind.
'T was not their proffer'd wealth could make him bold
To sin in want, and then repent in gold.
Religion was the star by which he steer'd
His well-run course; his heart was still endear'd
To solid principles : he loved to court
The truth; love was his ship, and heaven his port.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN FRITH,

WHO SUFFERED MARTYRDOM, 1533.

JOHN FRITH was born at Westerham in Kent; in whom, being a child, nature had planted a marvellous love unto learning; he had also a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand anything; neither was there anything wanting in him equal unto that towardness of disposition. Whereby it came to pass that he was not only a lover of learning, but also became an exquisite learned man. He first began his study at Cambridge, where he profited much in all sorts of learning. At last he fell into knowledge of and acquaintance with William Tindale, through whose

pious instructions that seed of the Gospel and sincere godliness was first instilled into his heart.

At that time Cardinal Wolsey prepared to build a sumptuous college in Oxford, now called Christ's College; and sought out for such as did excel in knowledge and learning to be Fellows in the same; and amongst others John Frith was appointed one. Now these choice young men there placed, conferring together upon the abuses of religion, which at that time were crept into the church, were therefore accused of heresy, and cast into prison, where many of them, through the filthy stink thereof, died. Afterwards John Frith, (with the others remaining alive,) being dismissed out of prison, went beyond the seas; and two years after returning, he was taken for a vagabond at Reading, and set in the stocks, where he remained until he was almost pined with hunger. At length he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought unto him, which was Leonard Coxe, a learned man. As soon as he came, in the Latin tongue he bewailed his captivity unto him. The schoolmaster, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace him, especially when he spake unto him in the Greek tongue, and rehearsed by heart divers verses out of Homer; whereupon the schoolmaster went with all speed unto the magistrates, and procured his enlargement.

Yet this his safety continued not long, through the deadly hatred of Sir Thomas More, at that time chancellor of England, who persecuted him both by sea and land, promising great rewards to any man that could bring tidings of him. Thus this good man, being beset with troubles round

about, wandered up and down, from place to place, until at the length, being betrayed by a seeming friend, he was apprehended, and sent unto the Tower of London; where he had many disputes with Sir Thomas More, and others, touching the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. In which quarrel he withstood the violence of three most obstinate enemies, — the bishop of Rochester, More, and Rastall; but he, fighting with them all three at once, did so refute and confound them that he converted Rastall to his part.

But when neither Scripture nor reason would prevail against the fierce cruelty of these furious foes, the twentieth day of June, 1533, he was brought before the bishops sitting in Paul's Church, where they ministered certain interrogatives unto him touching the sacrament and purgatory; to which he answered according to his former disputation, and subscribed unto his answer these words with his own hand: "I Frith thus do think; and as I think, so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my books published;" so that whenas by no means he could be persuaded to recant, he was condemned by the bishop of London to be burned. And so, being delivered over unto the mayor and sheriffs of London, the fourth day of July he was by them carried into Smithfield to be burned. When he was tied to the stake, he showed much constancy and courage; for, whenas the fire and faggots were put unto him, he willingly embraced the same, thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered those torments for Christ's and the truth's sake, whereof that day he gave with his blood a perfect and firm testimony. The wind drove away the flame from him unto his

fellow martyr, Andrew Hewet, who was burned with him; which made his death the longer, and his pains the greater. But God assisted him with such strength, and fortified his soul with such patience, that he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow, than to be careful for himself, as if he had felt no pain in that long torment.

There is one thing more very observable concerning this constant martyr, John Frith,—that whereas the [arch]bishop of Canterbury sent two of his servants to fetch him to Croydon, there to be examined, they were so convinced upon the way with his learned and pious discourses, sweet and humble carriage, that they contrived betwixt themselves how to let him escape; and at the length one of them delivered himself unto him in this manner, saying, "Master Frith, the journey which I have taken in hand to bring you to Croydon, as a sheep to the slaughter, so grieveth me, that I am overwhelmed with care and sorrow; neither regard I what hazard I undergo, so that I may deliver you out of the lion's mouth;" and then made known unto him how that they had plotted betwixt themselves to let him escape. To whom Frith answered, with a smiling countenance, "Do you think that I am a'raid to deliver my opinion unto the bishops of England in a manifest truth?" The gentleman replied, "I marvel that you were so willing to fly the realm before you were taken, and now [are] so unwilling to save yourself." Master Frith answered, "Before I was attached, I would fain have enjoyed my liberty for the benefit of the church of God: but now being taken by the higher power, and by the providence of almighty God delivered into the hands of the bishops, to give testi-

mony to that religion and doctrine which under pain of damnation I am bound to maintain and defend; if I should now start aside, and run away, I should run from my God, and from the testimony of the word, and should be worthy of a thousand hells. Therefore I beseech you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought, or else I will go thither all alone."

In all past ages and preceding days,
Heaven (to His honour and eternal praise)
Hath never left His church yet destitute
Of faithful witnesses, both to dispute,
And die, too, for His spotless verity,
(If call'd thereto,) with all sincerity,
And admirable fortitude of mind.
In which rare roll of martyrs we do find
Famous John Frith, an Englishman by nation;
Who, from his youth, adorn'd his education
With promptitude of wit, and other parts,
Whereby he flourish'd both in tongues and arts.
And, to conclude, let all rejoice and say,
Religion was Frith's prop, and he her stay.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THOMAS BILNEY,

WHO SUFFERED MARTYRDOM ANNO CHRISTI 1531.

Thomas Bilney, an Englishman by birth, was brought up in the University of Cambridge from a

child; where he profited so much in all the liberal sciences, that he in a short time commenced Bachelor of both Laws. But the Holy Spirit of Christ by secret inspiration enduing his heart with the knowledge of better things, he left the study of man's laws, and set himself wholly apart for the study of divinity, accounting godliness his greatest gain. And as his own heart was inflamed with a sincere love to Christ and the Gospel of Christ, so his great desire was to bring others to embrace the same. And his labour was not in vain; for he converted many of his fellows to the knowledge of the Gospel, and amongst the rest Master Hugh Latimer; (who afterwards sealed to the truth of Christ with his blood;) Master Latimer being cross-keeper at that time in Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession days.

At the last Bilney, forsaking the university, went up and down, preaching the Gospel wherever he came, sharply reproving the pride and pomp of the clergy, and striving to overthrow the authority of the bishop of Rome. Cardinal Wolsey at that time being in great authority, and well knowing that the pride and hypocrisy of the clergy could not long continue against the word of God, if once the light of the Gospel should open the eyes of men, he therefore caused Bilney to be apprehended, and cast into prison. And on the twenty-fifth day of November, 1527, Master Bilney was brought before the said cardinal and many other bishops sitting at Westminster, and there examined whether he had not taught unto the people the opinions of Luther, or of any other condemned by the church. Bilney answered that wittingly he had not taught anything contrary to the Catholic church.

Hereupon he was delivered over to the bishop of London, to be further examined. Being brought before him, he exhorted him to abjure and recant. Bilney answered, that he would stand to his conscience, saying, *Fiat justitia, et judicium in nomine Domini.* Then the said bishop of London, with the consent of the rest, read part of the sentence against Master Bilney, but respites the rest of it until the morrow, to see if he would recant. Then he was brought before them again, but still he refuseth to recant: yet at the last, through infirmity rather than by conviction, he recanteth, the seventh day of December, 1527.

After which abjuration made, he went again to Cambridge; but he had such conflicts within himself upon the consideration of what he had done, that he was overwhelmed with sorrow, and was near the point of utter despair; so that his friends were afraid to let him be alone, but continued with him day and night, striving to administer some comfort unto him. But he was in such an agony for the space of a whole year after, that he could receive no comfort. Yet at the length, having been throughly humbled for his sin, through the goodness of God he came unto some quiet in conscience, being firmly resolved to spend his dearest blood in giving testimony to that truth which before he had renounced.

Having thus determined in his mind, he took his leave of his friends in Trinity Hall, and said that he would go to Jerusalem, and so should see them no more (alluding to Christ's going up to Jerusalem before His passion). And immediately he departed into Norfolk, and there preached, first privately in houses, and then openly in the fields, bewailing his

former subscription, and owning that doctrine for truth which before he had abjured; willing all men to be warned by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of religion. Whereupon he was apprehended, and carried to prison. While he there remained, Dr. Call and Dr. Stokes, with many others, were sent to dispute with him, the former of which, by means of Bilney's doctrine, was somewhat reclaimed. After many tedious disputes, seeing that by no means they could withdraw Master Bilney from the truth, he was condemned to be burned.

The night before his execution, many of his friends resorted unto him, [and] found him eating heartily with a quiet mind and cheerful countenance: whereupon they said unto him, that they were glad to see him thus to refresh himself, being shortly to suffer such painful torments. He answered, "I imitate those who, having a decaying house to dwell in, hold it up by props as long as may be." Continuing with his friends in heavenly discourses, one of them said, that although the fire which he should suffer the next day would be of great heat unto his body, yet it would be but for a moment; but the Spirit of God would refresh and cool his soul with everlasting comfort. At these words Master Bilney put his finger into the flame of the candle then burning before them, and, feeling the heat thereof, said, "I find by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire is naturally hot; yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some saints of God therein recorded, that in the flame we may feel no heat; and I constantly believe that, however the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by the fire, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged

thereby; and although it may be somewhat painful for a time, yet joy unspeakable followeth thereupon."

As he was led forth to the place of execution, one of his friends spake unto him, and desired him to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. To whom Master Bilney answered, with a quiet and mild countenance: "When the mariner undertakes a voyage, he is tossed on the billows of the troubled seas; yet in the midst of all perils he beareth up his spirit with this consideration, that ere long he should come unto his quiet harbour. So," saith he, "I am now sailing upon the troubled sea, but ere long my ship shall be in a quiet harbour; and I doubt not but, through the grace of God, I shall endure the storm; only I would entreat you to help me with your prayers."

As he went along the streets, he gave much alms to the poor by the hands of one of his friends. Being come to the stake, he there openly made a long confession of his faith in an excellent manner, and gave many sweet exhortations to the people; and then earnestly called upon God by prayer, and at the end rehearsed the 143rd Psalm.

Then turning to the officers, he asked them if they were ready; whereupon the fire was kindled; he holding up his hands, and crying sometimes "Jesus," sometimes "*Credo.*" But the wind did blow away the flame from him, which made his pain the longer; yet he patiently endured it; continuing to call upon God, until he gave up the ghost.

Just such another saint-like singing swan,
Was blessed Bilney, born an Englishman

Brought up in Cambridge University;
Famous for arts, and parts, and piety:
Where, by powerful preaching, he converted
Holy Hugh Latimer, then much perverted
To Popery; made many a proselyte,
Of 's fellow students, by the Gospel's light.
At last by Cardinal Wolsey prosecuted;
Who, and his shavelings, with him oft disputed;
They by their subtle treats and threats at length
Tripp'd up his heels, and foil'd his human strength,
And caused him to recant: in which sad case
This blessed saint about a twelvemonth's space,
In bitter anguish and perplexity
Of soul, in danger, in despair to die.
At last, again, by God's all-guarding grace,
Recover'd comfort did despair quite chase,
And fill his soul with such redoubled joy
As all his former precious parts t' employ
In constant and courageous preaching down
The odious errors of Rome's triple crown.
For which our tongues may never cease t' express
That Bilney 's crowned with true happiness.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF WILLIAM TINDALE.

WILLIAM TINDALE was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the University of Oxford; where he grew up, and increased in the knowledge of the tongues and the liberal arts, but especially in the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted: insomuch as, being in Magdalen



WILLIAM TINDALE.

Hall, he read privately to some Fellows and students some parts of divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. His life also was so blameless that he acquired much love and esteem thereby. After he had profited exceedingly, and taken his degrees there, he removed to Cambridge; and, being well ripened in the knowledge of God's word, he went to live with one Master Welch in Gloucestershire, where he was tutor to his children. And many abbots and doctors resorting thither, Master Tindale discoursed with them of Luther, Erasmus, &c.; showing them plainly his judgment in religion, proving the same by the word of God, and confuting their errors; which caused them to bear a secret grudge in their hearts against him. And afterwards they took occasion to rail and rage against him, charging him with heresy, and accusing him to the bishop and chancellor. Whereupon the chancellor appointed those priests, and Master Tindale also, to appear before him; and Master Tindale, suspecting the matter, as he went, prayed heartily unto God to give him strength to stand fast to the truth. When he came, the chancellor threatened him grievously, reviling and rating of him, as though he had been a dog, accusing him of many things whereof no proof could be brought, and so dismissed him for the present.

Not long after, Master Tindale happening into the company of one that was esteemed a learned doctor, in disputing with him, he drave him to that issue, that the doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, "We had better be without God's laws than the pope's." Master Tindale, hearing this, full of godly zeal, replied, "I defy the pope and all his

laws; and if God spare me life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that drives the plough to know more of the Scriptures than you do." The rage of the priests increasing, Master Tindale told Master Welch, that he well perceived that he could stay there no longer with safety, and that his stay might be prejudicial to that family also; and therefore, with his good leave, he departed, and went to London, where he preached a while, as he had done in [the] country before. And then, hearing a great commendation of Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, he endeavoured to get into his service; but the Lord saw that it was not good for him, and therefore he found little favour in the bishop's sight.

Remaining thus in London about the space of a year, and being desirous, for the good of his country, to translate the New Testament into English, he found that there was no place for him to do it in England; and therefore, being assisted by Master Humphrey Munmoth [or Monmouth] and other good men, he left the land, and went into Germany, and there set upon that work; translating the New Testament *anno Christi* 1527; and then setting upon the Old, he finished the five books of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one of them. The like also he did upon the New Testament: besides divers other godly treatises which he wrote there; which, being published, and sent over into England, became exceeding profitable to the whole English nation.

At his first going over into Germany, he went into Saxony, and had much conference with Luther, and other learned men in those quarters, and then, returning into the Netherlands, made his greatest

abode at Antwerp. When he had finished his translation of Deuteronomy, minding to print it at Hamburg, he sailed thitherward; but by the way upon the coast of Holland he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books and writings, and so was compelled to begin all again, to his great hinderance, and doubling of his labours. Yet afterwards he went into another ship to Hamburg, where he met Master Coverdale, who assisted him in the translation of the five books of Moses; the sweating sickness being in the town all the while, which was *anno Christi* 1529; and during their employment in that work, they were entertained by a religious widow, Mistress Margaret Van Emerson.

When his English Testament came abroad, Satan's and the pope's instruments raged exceedingly; some saying that there were a thousand heresies in it; others, that it was impossible to translate the Scriptures into English; others, that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their own language, &c.; and at last the bishops and priests procured of King Henry VIII. a proclamation prohibiting the buying or reading of it. Yet not satisfied herewith, they suborned one Henry Philips to go over to Antwerp to betray him; who, when he came thither, insinuated himself into Master Tindale's company, and pretended great friendship to him; and having learned where his abode was, he went to Brussels, and there prevailed so far that he brought with him the emperor's attorney to Antwerp, and, pretending to visit Master Tindale, he betrayed him to two catchpoles, which presently carried him to the attorney; who, after examination, sent him to prison

in the castle of Filford [Vilvoorden], eighteen miles off, and seized upon all his writings, and what else he had at his lodging.

The English merchants at Antwerp, who loved Tindale very well, did what they could to procure his release; also letters were sent by the Lord Cromwell and others out of England in his behalf. But Philips so bestirred himself that all their endeavours came to nothing; and Tindale was at last brought to his answer; and after much reasoning, although he deserved not death, yet they condemned him to die. And being brought forth to the place of execution, whilst he was tying to the stake, he cried with a fervent and loud voice, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes." And so he was first strangled by the hangman, and then burnt, *anno Christi* 1536. The power of his doctrine and the sincerity of his life was such, that during his imprisonment (which was about a year and a half) he converted his keeper and his daughter, and some others of his household: and Philips, that betrayed him, long enjoyed not the price of innocent blood, but by God's just judgment he was devoured by lice.

Master Foxe, in his History of Martyrs, says, he might be called "England's Apostle." The works which he writ, besides the translation of the Scriptures, are these that follow:—

1. A Christian's Obedience. 2. The Unrighteous Mammon. 3. The Practice of the Papists. 4. Commentaries on the seventh Chapter of St. Matthew. 5. A Discourse of the last Will and Testament of Tracey. 6. An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogues. 7. The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper against More. 8. Of the Sacrament of the Altar.

9. Of the Sacramental Signs. 10. A Footpath leading to the Scriptures. 11. Two Letters to John Frith.

All these are extant together, with the works of two martyrs, Barnes and Frith, in English, in folio: and thus, after much labour and persecution, this worthy member of Christ yielded to the flames, expecting a joyful resurrection.

Zeal crown'd his heart, and made him to outvie
Papistic stocks of hell-bred tyranny.
He fear'd them not, but boldly would dispute
Against their swelling errors, and confute
Their principles with a most dexterous art.
His tongue was never traitor to his heart;
Truth was the hand that pointed to the way
Where full content and rich salvations lay:
'T was not a loathsome prison could divorce
His read lips from the profound discourse
Of true religion: nothing could prevent
His just endeavours: time be thought misspent,
If not employ'd to good. Reader, admire,
His body framed to make his soul a fire.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF URBANUS REGIUS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1541.

URBANUS REGIUS was born in Arga Longa, in the territories of Count Montfort, of honest parents,

who principled him in the rudiments of learning, and from school sent him to Friburg; where he lived with Zasius, an excellent lawyer, who loved him dearly for his diligence and industry. From thence he went to Basil, to study other arts; and from thence to Ingolstadt, where, after a while, he read privately to divers noblemen's sons, whose parents desired him to furnish their children with books, and all other necessaries, for which they would take care to pay him again quarterly. But when he had run into debt for them, they neglected to return their money; which caused him to think of departing; and, having an opportunity, he listed himself a soldier under a captain that went against the Turks, leaving his books, and other furniture, to be divided amongst the creditors.

Being now amongst the soldiers, it happened that John Eccius (who was governor of the university) coming forth to see the soldiers, he espied Regius amongst them, and inquired the cause of his so sudden a change. He told him how those noblemen had served him; whereupon Eccius got him released from his captain, and by his authority procured the debts to be paid by the parents of those youths which had been with him. Whereupon he returned to his studies again; where he growing famous for his wit and learning, Maximilian the emperor, passing through Ingolstadt, made him his laureate poet and orator. Afterwards he was made professor in that university. Then he fell hard to the study of divinity; and a while after, the controversy growing hot between Luther and Eccius, Regius favouring Luther's doctrine because he would not offend Eccius, to whom he was many ways

bound, he left Ingolstadt, and went to Augusta [Augsburg]; and there, at the importunity of the magistrates and citizens, he undertook the government of the church. And being offended at the gross idolatry of the Papists, he joined with Luther, and preached against the same: and having written to Zuinglius to know his judgment about the sacrament and original sin, he received such satisfaction that he joined in opinion with him about the same.

At that time the Anabaptists crept into Augusta [Augsburg], and held private conventicles to the disturbance of the public peace; for which the magistrates imprisoned the chiefest of them, and afterwards for their obstinacy punished them. Regius preaching against purgatory and indulgences, the malice and cruelty of the Papists prevailed at length to the driving of him out of that city: but after a while, by the earnest prayer of the citizens, he was called back again to his former charge; where also he married a wife, by whom he had thirteen children. Eccius also came thither, and sought by all means to turn him from the truth, but in vain. He sent also Faber and Cochlæus with flatteries, and large promises, who prevailed as little as the others.

Anno Christi 1530, when the Diet was held at Augusta [Augsburg] for quieting of the controversies about religion, the duke of Brunswick, coming thither, by importunity prevailed with Regius to go to Luneburg in his country, to take care of the church there: in which journey at Coburg he met with Luther, and spent a whole day in familiar conference with him about matters of great moment; of which himself writes, that he never had a more

comfortable day in his life. Ernestus, duke of Brunswick, loved him dearly, and esteemed him as his father; insomuch as when the city of Augusta sent to the duke, desiring him to return Regius to them again, he answered, that he would as soon part with his eyes as with him: and presently after he made him bishop, and overseer of all the churches in his country, with an ample salary for the same. Afterwards, going with his prince to a meeting at Hagenau, he fell sick by the way, and within few days with much cheerfulness yielded up his soul into the hands of God, *anno Christi* 1541. He often desired of God that he might die a sudden and easy death; wherein God answered his desires. He was of an excellent wit, holy of life, and painful in the work of the Lord.

Reader, this serious father's well-spent days
Were fill'd with love, and love was fill'd with praise.
He was abjured by a noble race,
Which made him only debtor, but not base.
Heav'n was his port, to which he sail'd through tears,
Steer'd by his faith, blown by the wind of prayers.
Let his example teach us to invest
Our hearts with wisdom, and we shall be blest,
With him, who now enjoys the life of pleasure,
Whose comforts know no end, whose joys no measure.
He that shall choose true virtue for his guide
May march on boldly, and not fear a slide.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CAROLOSTADIUS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1541.

Andreas Bodenstein Carolostadius was born in France [Franconia], in a town called Carolostadium [Carlstadt], by which he received his name. He was brought up at school there; whence afterwards he went to Rome; and having spent some time in the study of divinity, he went thence to Wittenberg, where he commenced Doctor in Divinity, and was a public professor *anno Christi* 1512. Afterwards he became an earnest assertor of Luther's doctrine, and a defender of it against Eccius, both by disputation and writing. At the time of Luther's being in his Patmos, Carolostadius obtained of the elector the abolishing of private mass, auricular confession, images, &c., at Wittenberg; which Luther being offended at, returned presently thither, and preached eagerly against that alteration. Whereupon Carolostadius wrote in justification of it; which was the first beginning of greater differences betwixt them about the sacrament: whereupon he left Wittenberg, 1524, and went to Orlamünde, being called to a pastoral charge there.

But after a while he was called back to his place in Wittenberg: yet, before he went, Luther being sent by the elector to Jena and Orlamünde, in a sermon where Carolostadius was present, he inveighed bitterly against the Anabaptists, and said withal, that the same spirit reigned in the image-haters and sacramentaries. Whereupon Carolostadius, being much offended, went to his lodging to confer with

him about it. Afterwards Luther coming to Orlamünde, went not to salute Carolostadius, but in his sermon quarrelled with their abolishing of idols: and shortly after he procured the elector to banish Carolostadius; whereof Carolostadius afterwards complained in a letter to his people in Wittenberg, that unheard and unconvicted he was banished by Luther's procurement.

From thence he went to Basil, where he printed some books that he had written about the Lord's Supper, for which the magistrates (being offended with the novelty of the doctrine) cast the printers into prison, and the senate of Tigurine [Zurich] forbad their people to read those books. But Zuinglius in his sermon exhorted them first to read, and then to pass judgment on them, saying, that Carolostadius knew the truth, but had not well expressed it. Afterwards Carolostadius wandering up and down in upper Germany, when the sedition of the boorish Anabaptists brake out, (unto which they were stirred up by Munzer, and for which many of them were brought to punishment,) Carolostadius also escaped very narrowly, being let down in a basket over the walls of Rothenburg: and, being in great straits, he wrote to Luther, and purged himself from having any hand in those uproars, entreating him to print his book, and undertake his defence; which also Luther did, desiring the magistrates that he might be brought to his just trial, before he was condemned. Carolostadius wrote again to him a letter, wherein he said, that, for his opinion about the sacrament, he rather proposed it for disputation sake, than that he positively affirmed anything; which many imputed to him for levity. But Luther there-

upon procured his return into Saxony: yet he, finding little content there, went to Tigurine [Zurich], and taught in that place till the death of Zuinglius; and then he went to Basil, where he taught ten years; and *anno* 1541 he died there of the plague, and was very honourably buried.

This grave divine ceased not from taking pains
More for the church's good than his own gains:
Yet were his gains as great as his desire.
He that obtains true virtue need require
No greater profit: he that studies how
To live hereafter, must not set his brow
On earth's low things. The pleasure of the earth
Proved this grave father's sorrow, not his mirth.
His thoughts were all Divine; he could not hide
Within his season'd breast the flames of pride;
He was an image-hater, and would not
Let them be worshipp'd and his God forgot.
'T was not a prison could his heart apale;
He that has virtue, needs no other bail.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CAPITO,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1541.

Wolfgangus Fabricius Capito was born at Hagenau in Alsatia. His father was of the senatorian rank, who bred him in learning, and sent him to Basil, where he studied physic, and proceeded

Doctor of it. After his father's death, he studied divinity, *anno Christi* 1504; and under Zasius (a great lawyer) he studied law also, and proceeded Doctor of it.

He was a great lover and admirer of godly ministers: at Heidelberg he grew into acquaintance with Œcolampadius, and there was a near tie of friendship betwixt them all their lives. After, with him also he studied Hebrew, and became a preacher, first in Spire, and thence was called to Basil. From thence he was sent for by the Elector Palatine, who made him his preacher and counsellor, and sent him of divers embassies. Also by Charles V. he was made of the order of knights. From Mentz he followed Bucer to Argentine [Strasburg], where he was called to a pastoral charge.

He was a very prudent and eloquent man, a good Hebrician, and studious of peace. Concerning the sacrament he said, *Mittendas esse contentiones, et cogitandum de usu ipsius Cœnæ; et fidem nostram pane et vino Domini, per memoriam carnis et sanguinis Illius, pascendam.** *Anno* 1525, being called into his own country, he preached and administered the Lord's Supper to his own citizens, and baptized without the Popish ceremonies. He was present and disputed at Berne, against the Popish mass, &c. He was with others chosen by the Protestants to go to the Diet at Ratisbon for the settling of religion; and returning home, in a great and general infection he died of the plague, *anno Christi* 1541; of his age 63.

* ["That contentions ought to be laid aside, and the use of the Supper itself considered; and that our faith should feed on the Lord's bread and wine by the remembrance of His flesh and blood."—Ed.]

Industrious Capito at first inclined
Himself to cure the body, next the mind.
Being endow'd with most excellent parts,
He did (as 't were) monopolize the arts.
He loved religion, and was always free
T' extol the worth of practised piety.
He honoured peace; his heart was fill'd with hope
That he might live to contradict the pope.
And so he did: he labour'd to prevent
The ceremonies of their sacrament:
And, to conclude, he labour'd to confute
Their babbling mass. He 's blest without dispute.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF LEO JUDÆ,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1542.

Leo Judæ was born *anno Christi* 1482; brought up at school, and from thence sent to Basil; where he joined in study with Zuinglius, was a hearer of Dr. Wittenbach, by whom he was instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel. There also he was made a deacon, and from thence he was called into Helvetia [Switzerland], where he set himself to the study of the oriental tongues, and to read the fathers, especially Jerome and Augustine; as also he read diligently the books of Luther, Erasmus, and Capito. At length, being called to a pastoral charge at Tigure [Zurich], he opposed the Popish doctrine and ceremonies, both in the pulpit and press.

There he continued eighteen years, and spent much of it in expounding the Old Testament out of the Hebrew; wherein being grown very skilful, he set upon (at the importunity of his brethren of the ministry) the translation of the Old Testament out of the Hebrew; wherein also he was much holpen by the industry of other learned men. But this work proving very great, he was so wasted with labour and old age that he died before he finished it, *anno Christi* 1542, and of his age 60; leaving undone Job, the forty last Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and the eight last chapters of Ezekiel; which he commended to Theodore Bibliander to finish, who accordingly did it: and he left all to Conradus Pellican to peruse, and put to the press, which he carefully performed.

Four days before his death, sending for the pastors and professors of Tigure [Zurich], he made before them a confession of his faith concerning God, the Scriptures, the person and office of Christ; concluding, *Huic Jesu Christo Domino, et Liberatori meo, &c.:* "To this my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, my hope, and my salvation, I wholly offer up my soul and body; I cast myself wholly upon His mercy and grace," &c.

Heaven was the object where he fix'd his eyes,
Truth was his mark, religion was his prize,
His studious heart was active to contrive
How to keep other pining souls alive
With heavenly food; he never loved to feed
In secret corners, and let others need;
He never used to sweep away the crumbs
From his poor flock, and feed their souls with hums,

Like our new-babbling pastors, which infuse
Illiterate words patch'd up with flattering news.
He would not blind them with the enticing charms
Of falsities, or bid them take up arms,
Except for heaven, within whose tent he sings
Anthems of pleasure to the King of Kings.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MYCONIUS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1546.

Friderious Myconius was born [at Lichtenfels] in Franconia, of religious parents, and bred up at school till he was thirteen years old; and then he was sent to Annaberg, where he studied till he was twenty, and then entered into a monastery there, without the knowledge of his parents. The first night after his entry, he had a dream, which proved prophetical. In that place he read the school-men, and Augustine's Works. He read also at meal-time the Bible, with Lyra's notes on it, which he did seven years together, with so much exactness that he had it almost by heart. But despairing of attaining to learning, he left his studies, and fell to mechanical arts.

About which time Tecelius [Tetzel] brought his Indulgences into Germany, boasting of the virtue of them, and exhorting all, as they loved their own and their dead friends' salvation, that they should buy them, &c. Myconius had been taught by his father the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Decalogue, and to pray often; and that the blood of Christ only could

cleanse us from sin; and that pardon of sin, and eternal life, could not be bought with money, &c.: which caused him to be much troubled whether he should believe his father or the priests. But understanding that there was a clause in the Indulgences that they should be given freely to the poor, he went to Tecelius, entreated him to give him one, for he was a poor sinner, and one that needed a free remission of sins, and a participation of the merits of Christ. Tecelius admired that he could speak Latin so well, (which few priests could do in those days,) and therefore he advised with his colleagues, who persuaded him to give Myconius one: but, after much debate, he returned him answer, that the pope wanted money, without which he could not part with an Indulgence. Myconius urged the afore-named clause in the Indulgences: whereupon Tecelius's colleagues pressed again that he might have one given him, pleading his learning, and ingenuity, poverty, &c.; and that it would be a dishonour both to God and the pope to deny him one. But still Tecelius refused: whereupon some of them whispered Myconius in the ear to give a little money, which he refused to do; and they fearing the event, one of them proffered to give him some to buy one with; which he still refused, saying, that if he pleased he could sell a book to buy one; but he desired one for God's sake, which if they denied him, he wished them to consider how they could answer it to God, &c. But, prevailing nothing, he went away rejoicing that there was yet a God in heaven to pardon sinners freely, &c., according to that promise, "As I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of a sinner," &c.

Not long after he entered into orders; and read privately Luther's books, which the other friars took very heinously, and threatened him for it. From thence he was called to be a preacher at Vinaria [Weimar], where at first he mixed some Popish errors with the truth, but by the illumination of God's Spirit, and by his reading Luther, he at last began to preach against Popery, and to hold forth the truth clearly; which spread so swiftly, not only through Saxony, but through all countries, as if the angels had been carriers of it. Afterwards he was called to Gotha, to teach and govern the Thuringian churches, where he lived with his colleagues twenty years in much peace and concord; of which himself saith, *Cucurrimus, certavimus, laboravimus, pugnavimus, vicimus, et viximus semper conjunctissimè, &c.* In the tumult of the boors he took much pains to pacify their minds, and to keep them quiet: yea, he so quieted with an oration some that were pulling down some noblemen's houses, that they went away in peace. That year also he married a wife, by whom, through God's blessing, he had a numerous posterity. He accompanied the Elector of Saxony in many of his journeys into the Low Countries and other places, where he preached the Gospel sincerely, though sometimes to the hazard of his life.

About this time Henry VIII., king of England, fell out with the pope, for not divorcing of him from his wife Katharine of Spain, sister to Charles V., by reason of whose greatness the pope durst not do it: whereupon the king of England sent over to the German princes, (especially to the duke of Saxony,) to confederate against the pope, and to join with them in an agreement about religion. Upon which

occasion Myconius was sent over into England, partly about matters of religion, but especially about a match between Henry VIII. and Anne of Cleves. But, coming thither, he discovered the king's hypocrisy about religion, not only by the Six Articles about that time established, but also by his imprisoning of Latimer, and cutting off the Lord Cromwell's head, and burning of Master Barnes, &c., and by his seizing upon all the abbey lands. Whereupon he left England; and being come home, he was called by Henry of Saxony to visit and reform the churches of Misnia, together with Luther, Jonas, Cruciger, &c. Which fell out upon this occasion: George, duke of Saxony, lying on his death-bed, sent to his brother Henry, (all his own sons being dead before,) desiring him that, succeeding him, he should innovate nothing in religion, and withal promised him golden mountains by his ambassadors if he would assent thereto. To whom Henry answered, "This embassy of yours is just like the devil's dealing with Christ, when he promised Him all the world if He would fall down and worship him: but for my own part I am resolved not to depart from the truth which God hath revealed unto me." But before the return of the ambassador, Duke George was dead: whereupon this Henry (notwithstanding all the oppositions of the Papists) made this reformation in the churches. Which work being finished, Myconius visited all the churches in Thuringia; and with the help of Melancthon, and some other, he provided them pastors and schoolmasters, and procured stipends to be settled upon them for their maintenance.

Anno Christi 1541, he fell into a consumption, whereof he wrote to Luther that he was "sick, not to

death, but to life:" which interpretation of the text pleased Luther exceedingly well; unto whom he wrote back: "I pray Christ our Lord, our salvation, our health," &c.,* "that I may live to see thee and some others of our colleagues to die and go to heaven, and to leave me here amongst the devils alone. I pray God that I may first lay down this dry, exhausted, and unprofitable tabernacle....Farewell, and God forbid that I should hear of thy death whilst I live:" *sed te superstitem faciat mihi Deus: hoc peto, et volo, et fiat voluntas mea, Amen; quia hæc voluntas gloriam nominis Dei, certè non meam voluptatem nec copiam quærit.* A while after Myconius recovered, according to this prayer, though his disease seemed to be desperate, and out-lived it six years, even till after Luther's death; whereupon Justus Jonas, speaking of Luther, saith of him, *Iste vir potuit quod voluit*, "That man could have of God what he pleased."

A little before Myconius's death, he wrote an excellent epistle to John Frederick, elector of Saxony, wherein he praiseth God for raising up three successively in that family, viz., Frederick, John, and John Frederick, to undertake the patronage of Luther, &c. He was a man of singular piety, of solid learning, of a dexterous judgment, of a burning zeal, and of an admirable candour and gravity. He died of a relapse into his former disease, *anno Christi* 1546, and of his age 55.

* [The omission of a clause here, for which "&c." is substituted, makes nonsense of this sentence. The missing words stand thus in Melchior Adamus: *Ne hoc mihi addi sinat malum;* and the rendering should have run as follows: "I pray Christ our Lord," &c., "*not* to allow this additional evil to befall me," namely, to be left as sole survivor, &c. In trying to condense the original, the translator has, in this as in some other places, turned what was plain and sensible, into what is obscure and absurd.—Ed.]

Myconius was a man that loved to pry
Into the bosom of divinity;
His heart was always flexively inclined
To what was good; he had a golden mind
That would not bend to dross, but still aspire
To heaven, and faith gave wings to his desire.
He was beloved of all that loved God's name.
The trumpet of his voice would still proclaim
The word of God to those that would endure
To have their wounds be brought unto a cure.
By whose examples we may learn to thrive
In grace: his present worth is still alive.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN DIAZIUS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1546.

JOHN DIAZIUS was born in Spain; brought up at school: afterwards he went to Paris to study the arts, where he continued thirteen years. But it pleased God that whilst he read over the Holy Scriptures, and some of Luther's books, and other Protestant divines, he began to see and abominate the errors of Popery; and therefore, to further himself in the knowledge and study of the truth, he went to Geneva, where he spake with Calvin, and was very dear unto him. From thence he went to Argentine [Strasburg], where Martin Bucer observed his learning, piety, and diligence in his study; obtained of

the senate, that he should be joined with him to go to the disputation at Ratisbon; and when he came thither, he went to Peter Malvinda, a Spaniard, the pope's agent in Germany; who, when he knew that he came in company with Bucer and the other Protestant divines, he was much astonished, and admired how he was so much changed from that which he knew him to be at Paris; and, withal, he fretted exceedingly that they had gotten a Spaniard amongst them, presuming that they would triumph more in him than in many Germans. Whereupon he left no means untried to draw him back again to the church of Rome; sometimes making large proffers and promises to him, other sometimes threatening severe punishments, and mixing both with earnest entreaties.

But when by no means he could prevail to divert him from the truth, he sent for his brother, Alphonsus Diazius, one of the pope's lawyers, from Rome, who, hearing that his brother was turned Protestant, came speedily into Germany, bringing a notorious cut-throat with him, resolving either to divert or destroy him. When he came to Ratisbon, Diazius was departed to Neuburg about the printing of Bucer's book; which Alphonsus hearing of, followed him thither; where, after long debating of matters of religion between the two brothers, Alphonsus seeing the heart of his brother John to be so constantly planted on the sure rock of God's truth, that neither preferments could allure him, nor threats terrify him, both having been used by the pope's agent, nor he by persuasion nor love could persuade him to return to Popery; he feigned himself friendly to take his leave of him, and so departed. But shortly after he

returned again with this ruffianly murderer, and by the way they bought a hatchet of a carpenter; and Alphonsus sending this man disguised with letters to his brother, he himself following after, as John Diazius was reading the letters, this bloody murderer cleft his head with the hatchet; and, taking horse, they both rode away, *anno Christi* 1543: and this inhuman Cain was highly commended by the Papists for it. But the Lord would not suffer such an unnatural villain to go unpunished; for, not long after, he was so dogged and haunted by the furies of his own conscience that, being at Trent, when the Council was held there, he hanged himself about the neck of his own mule.

Diazius in his youthful days had clothed
His heart with Popery, and after lothed
What he had done; for, when he was inspired
By Heaven, he search'd for truth, and soon untired*
Himself; and having found the paths of truth,
He hated what he acted in his youth.
Thus being turned from those ways that lead
To utter ruin, Fame began to spread
Her wings abroad, and hover in the ear
Of the distasted pope, who could not hear
Goodness without impatience, but strove
To win him with reward of promised love.
But finding 't was in vain, he changed his mind
From love to murder, and with speed inclined
Himself to mischief; being void of grace,
Put out that light which shined so much in 's face.

* [That is, *undressed* himself,—threw off the garb of Popery.—Ed.]

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CRUCIGER.

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1548.

Caspar Cruciger was born at Leipsic in Misnia, *nno* 1504, of religious parents, who carefully brought him up in the knowledge of God, and in learning. He was melancholy by nature, and of a retired disposition, much in meditation, and of few words. Being principled in the Latin, he learned Greek, and profited much therein; and so went to the University of Wittenberg, that, having studied divinity there, he might be more useful to the church. He studied also the Hebrew tongue, and grew very exquisite therein. From thence [he] was called to govern the school at Magdeburg, where he taught with much profit and applause till 1527; and then, being called back to Wittenberg, he preached and expounded the Scriptures with so much dexterity, that he was graced with the degree of a Doctor. In that university he studied and practised physic also. He was very helpful to Luther in his translation of the Bible. He wrote so swiftly that he was chosen scribe at the disputation at Worms, and yet withal suggested to Melancthon many things for answer to Eccius's subtilties, insomuch that Granvell (who supplied the emperor's room) said of him, that the Lutherans had a scribe that was more learned than all the Pontificians.

He always opposed the Anabaptistical errors, and was very careful to preserve the truth from corruptions. He always hated new and ambiguous expres-

sions, which often caused much troubles in the church. He often contemplated the footsteps of God in nature; saying with Paul, that God was so near unto us, that He might be almost felt with our hands. He studied the mathematics in his later time, and grew so skilful therein that few excelled him. He was excellent also in the optics.

But, with excessive pains and incessant studies night and day, he contracted to himself a mortal disease, whereby he wasted away; and yet his intellectuals decayed not. He lay sick for above three months; all which time he gave forth clear and notable demonstrations of his faith, patience, and piety. He called up his two young daughters, and caused them to repeat their prayers before him; and then himself prayed with great fervency for himself, the church, and those his orphans; concluding, *Invoco Te, quanquam languidâ et imbecillâ fide, sed fide tamen. Credo promissioni Tuæ, quam sanguine Tuo et resurrectione obsignâsti, &c.:* "I call upon Thee with a weak, yet with a true, faith. I believe Thy promises which Thou hast sealed to me with Thy blood and resurrection," &c. In his sickness he intermitted not his studies; for, during the same, he turned into Latin Luther's books concerning the last words of David. He read the Psalms, and other authors. His ordinary discourse with his friends was about the principles of religion, the admirable government of the church, immortality, and our sweet communion in heaven. Upon the sixth of November there was a great chasm or opening in the heavens, and in some places fire fell to the earth, and flew up into the air again. This Cruciger saw, as he lay in his bed in the night, and thereupon much bewailed the great commotions





PAULUS FAGIUS.

UNIV. OF CH.

and dissipations in the church, which he foresaw by this prodigy. He spent the few days which remained in prayer and repentance, and so quietly ended his days, November 16th, *anno Christi* 1548, and of his age forty-five. Considering the mutability of all earthly things, he used often to say,

Omnia prætereunt, præter amare Deum.

"Besides God's love nothing is sure,
And that for ever doth endure."

Grave Cruciger was in his life
A hater of corroding strife;
His soul was fill'd with heaven, and he
Was always constant, always free
In his devotions: all his days
He spent to give his Maker praise.
Religion's stock did still increase
Within his heart, and crown'd his peace.
He was a wonder to all nations
For piety and disputations.
The Anabaptists felt the force
Of his pathetical discourse.
Truth always shined in his breast:
All men speak truth, that speak him blest.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF PAULUS FAGIUS.

In the year of our Lord God 1504, Paulus Fagius, *aliàs* Büchlin, was born in a town situate in the

Palatinate, not far from Bretta, which in the German language is called Rhein-Taberne. His father was called by the name of Peter Büchlin, being chief schoolmaster of that town; his mother by the name of Margaretta Jager, daughter unto Henricus Jager, of Heidelberg; who was much beloved of Frederick, the prince elector Palatine, by reason of his excellent knowledge in the art of war.

He was first acquainted with the ground of learning in the same town, and that through the carefulness and pains of his father, which indeed seemed pleasing unto him, because of the sharpness of wit and quickness of apprehension which he saw in the child; and therefore, for the better perfection of his natural parts, when he had reached unto the age of eleven years, he sent him unto Heidelberg, and committed him unto the tuition of Johannes Brentius and Martinus Frechtus, two learned men; by whose means he was furnished with an excellent insight in human learning.

When he had continued with these learned men for the space of seven years, and being now eighteen years of age, and longing for a greater perfection of learning, he left Heidelberg, and went unto Strasburg; and because poverty thwarted the good will of his parents, so that they could not afford him such maintenance as they were willing, he framed himself unto the teaching of youth, during his abode in that place; by which means he defended himself from that miserable condition which was likely to ensue, and also furnished himself with money for the procuring of such books as he had most use of for his studies.

About this time the study and profession of the

tongues began to appear and to show itself in Germany; and Wolfgangus Capito set forth two books, containing solid instructions for the obtaining of knowledge in the Hebrew language,—a thing worthy of admiration in those times; and there were also some Jews, who, wandering up and down, did impart the grounds of that knowledge unto many in Germany. Fagius, laying hold upon this opportunity, gave himself wholly unto the study of this tongue; and for that cause he happily insinuated himself into the familiarity of Capito, Hedio, Bucer, Zellius, and other learned professors, who were the first planters of the church of Christ in those places.

Having here indifferently furnished himself with learning, and with the knowledge of the tongues, in the year 1527 he left Strasburg, and betook himself unto Isna [Isny], a town in Algaria [Algau]; (being thereunto constrained with his poverty, and also with the small regard that those people had of learned men;) where, by the entreaty and furtherance of his friends, he underwent the painful office again of a schoolmaster; wherein he used such diligence that he gained the love of all that knew him. But, finding within himself a natural inclination unto the ministry, he left his school, and returned again unto Strasburg, to furnish himself with sufficient knowledge for the discharge of that function. Here he continued for the space of two years, spending them altogether in the study of divinity: at the end whereof he was called from Strasburg by the senate of Isna, to undergo a pastoral office in the same town; which he performed for the space of five years, with the great approbation of his auditors; when he gave himself again

unto the study of the holy tongues, wherein in short time he proceeded beyond expectation, so that he was adjudged to be the most absolutest in those days. For the attaining unto this perfection he used the help of Elias Levita, a most learned Jew.

Petrus Buflerus, one of the senators of Isna [Isny], having notice of his perfection in the holy tongue, and of his natural inclination unto the arts, at his own cost and charge he erected a printing-house; to the end that Fagius might publish some works for the future good of that nation, and for the credit and good fame of himself. But the event not answering their expectation, Fagius came at last to be deeply indebted unto his friend Petrus; whereby he was disheartened, and kept from proceeding any further: which being perceived by Buflerus, he encouraged him again to go forward, and for that cause he lovingly forgave him all the debt, which amounted unto the sum of one thousand crowns and more.

But he finding by experience that Isna [Isny] was not a place for his purpose, he resolved to remove; and opening the same unto the inhabitants, they seemed unwilling, yet afterwards they consented, receiving Johannes Marbachius into his room. Before his departure, the town was greatly afflicted with the pestilence; and he understanding that many of the wealthiest of the inhabitants intended to forsake the place, without having any respect or care of such as laboured with that disease, and that the houses of such as were infected were commanded to be shut up by the magistrate, he openly admonished them, either to continue in the town, or liberally to bestow their alms before their departure, for the relief of

such as were sick. And during the time of the visitation he himself in person would visit those that were sick; he would administer spiritual comfort unto them, pray for them, and would be present with them day and night; and yet by the providence of God he remained untouched, and was preserved by the all-powerful hand of God.

At the same season the pestilence was hot in Strasburg, and, with many others, it took away Wolfgangus Capito; by reason whereof he was called by the senate, and designed to be his successor in the same city, where he continued preaching until the beginning of the German wars. For then Fridericus Secundus, [Frederick II.,] the prince elector Palatine, intending a reformation in those churches which were subject to him, he called Fagius from Strasburg unto Heidelberg, being then reputed to be a most eloquent and learned man, and constituted him the public professor in the same place. But the emperor prevailing against the elector, and triumphing in Germany, that which was begun in Germany touching Reformation fell again to the ground and became extinct.

During his residence here, he set forth many books, but more especially such as he adjudged would be most profitable for such as intended to study the Hebrew tongue; which were so approved of by Bucer, Martyr, and Hedio, then ordinary professors of divinity, that he was advanced to the reading of a divinity lecture on the week days, and designed to discharge their pastoral functions, in case they were restrained either with sickness, or any other serious employments; and in this course he remained for the space of six years. At the end of which time the

church was greatly afflicted in Germany, and banishment was threatened unto such as would not adhere unto the doctrine of the church of Rome. And in the beginning of these troubles it pleased God to stir up Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury and metropolitan of England, to call for him out of Germany; who, together with Bucer, was honourably entertained by the said archbishop, and disposed of, &c. *Vide* BUCER.

He died in Cambridge, in the year 1550, and was honourably buried in the church of St. Michael. His bones, together with Bucer's, in the days of Queen Mary, were digged up and burned, because he was condemned of heresy. Amongst many epitaphs which were set forth in the commending of this man, that of Gulielmus Day deserveth impression, that his worth might be manifested unto future times.

Bucero primas dedimus, tibi, Paule, secundas
Et damus, Hebrææ gloria prima scholæ.
Hoc uno inferior Bucero, Paule, fuisti,
Quòd prior extremum cernis adesse diem.
Verùm illo major Bucero, Paule, fuisti,
Quòd prior æterno jussus adesse Deo.
In reliquo similem duxisti tempore vitam:
Ambo salutiferi buccina fida Dei;
Ambo stelliferi sparsistis semina regni,
Semina proventu non caritura suo.
Unde utrumque Deus magno dignatus honore,
Utrumque ad superi transtulit astra poli.

Felices animæ, superas licet îstis ad oras,
A nobis vestrum nomen abire nequit.
Eximiâ semper vivetis laude perennes,
Quam canet Aoniis nostra Thalia modis.

"Our first applauses unto Bucer we
Ascribe; the second we bequeath to thee,
Whose knowledge in the holy dialect
A fame eternal will to thee erect.

In that thou first didst bid the world good-night,
Thou seem'st inferior to that burning light;
But, being first with heaven's glory crown'd,
Thou dost appear a saint more worthy found.

In other things both fitly did agree:
Both faithful preachers of His verity;
Both painful sowers of the heavenly grain;
Both blest with good success,—it sprang again.

Wherefore God bless'd you both with honour high,
And clothed you both with immortality.

O happy souls! though Heaven keep you there,
Your fame shall ever be intombed here.
Your worthy praises all the earth shall know,
Divulged by our Muses here below."

He was of a tall stature, somewhat black-visaged: his countenance appeared outwardly severe, extorting reverence; but he was inwardly of an affable and courteous disposition, loving, meek, and lowly. He was an excellent orator, a great student, as appears by his works here inserted.

1. A work called *Thisbi*. 2. Apophthegms of the Fathers. 3. Moral Sentences of Ben Syra, alphabetically digested. 4. The Translation of Tobias the Hebrew. 5. Hebrew Prayers. 6. A literal Exposition of the Hebrew Sayings on the four first

Chapters of Genesis, with a Chaldee Paraphrase. 7. Of the Truth of Faith. 8. Commentaries on certain Psalms by Kirchi. 9. A Hebrew Preface to Elias Levita's Chaldee Lexicon. 10. Targum. 11. An Introduction to the Hebrew Tongue.

Reader, behold, here stands before thine eye
The perfect emblem of true gravity.
Turn from his face, then read, and thou shalt find
The rare endeavours of a serious mind.
He was a man whose ever-active heart
Was always digging in the mines of art;
And, like a bee, he labour'd every hour
To suck some honey from each spreading flow'r.
'T was not the face of poverty could fright
His soul from goodness; heaven was his delight,
And earth his scorn: he studied how to give
A life to language, and make virtue live.
It is not fit that he whose works affords *
So many languages, should want for words.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MARTIN BUCER.

In the year of our Lord 1491, Martinus Bucerus was born at Selestadt [Schlettstadt], a town in Germany, famous for many learned scholars, which it hath afforded unto the world in these latter times: amongst which this Bucer deserveth not the meanest approbation, if we shall but consider those excellent

* [The dire necessity of rhyme has here led the poet to adopt a form of *dis*agreement, which cannot fail to shock the sensibilities of the right minded g ammarian.—Ed.]



MARTIN BUCER.

virtues wherewith he was endued, or his learned and laborious acts for the propagation of the truth of Christ.

In his youth he was trained up in the knowledge of the liberal arts and sciences in his own country; wherein he profited beyond expectation, to the great credit of his master, and to the unspeakable comfort of his friends.

About the year of our Lord 1506, and about the fifteenth year of his age, through the advice and persuasion of his friends, he adjoined himself unto the order of the Dominicans: where he manifested and gave them so singular a glimpse of his industry and towardness, that the most judicious and best eye-sighted friars conceived him to be set apart for the performance of more than ordinary acts.

Being now a Dominican, he greatly desired to take a view of Heidelberg, which was granted unto him by the prior. Here he earnestly gave himself to the study of rhetoric and philosophy; and not to these arts only, but also to divinity. But when he found by experience that the knowledge of the tongues was so necessary unto the study thereof, that without them it could not by any means possible be attained to any perfection, he forthwith bent all his forces for the gaining of the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues.

About that time came forth the works of Erasmus Roterodamus, in the reading whereof Bucer greatly delighted, and was by them first instructed (God opening his eyes) in the grounds of evangelical truth; and happening also on some of Luther's works newly published, and comparing the doctrine therein delivered and taught with the Holy Scriptures, he fell

into a suspicion of the truth of the doctrine of the church of Rome.

Bucer having now attained unto some perfection of learning, and notice being taken of those excellent qualities wherewith he was adorned, upon the commendation and approbation of Franciscus Sickingen, he was entertained by Frederick, prince elector Palatine, to be his chaplain; and, forsaking that profession which he had formerly taken, he professed himself to be a Protestant, and preached the word both privately and publicly, as occasions were offered and given unto him; being much strengthened and animated thereunto by hearing the disputation of Luther at Heidelberg, concerning free-will, whereby he became better satisfied in the point of justification.

And this was the first acquaintance which he had with that burning light of the church, by whom it pleased God to work an alteration in his heart, and an earnest intent to beat down the sins of the times, to dispel the foggy mists of darkness and ignorance, that the glorious light of Christ's Gospel might the better appear. For the prince elector having urgent occasions to go into Belgium, and taking him with him as his associate, he sharply reproved in his sermons and exercises the superstitious impieties of those places; wherein he proceeded with that eagerness of spirit, that the monks and friars there living were much offended at his doctrine, as a thing prejudicial to their lazy manner of life. Wherefore, to prevent his proceeding, they intended secretly to take away his life; (an old practice of that hellish brood;) but the Providence of God would not suffer this light to be thus extinguished. For he, having notice of the snares which were laid for him, secretly

fled away, and went unto Franciscus Sickingen, of whom he was kindly and lovingly entertained, promising him safety until that the times were better quieted as touching religion; with whom he remained until such time as Luther was called unto Worms; unto whom he went, and having spent many days in conference with him, he departed from him, not without the embracing of his doctrine, with an intent to make public profession of the same, for the glory of God, until he had finished that time which was allotted unto him here on earth. And resolving to take his journey for Wittenberg, he was stayed by the entreaty of the faithful pastors of the church at Wissenburg; where he continued preaching for the space of half a year, not without the great benefit of the church; until that he with Henricus Mothererus were with great sorrow compelled to depart that place, through the means of the vicar of Spire, which at that time was a great enemy and an opposer of the truth of Christ.

Now, although the word of God had no good success in this place, yet it pleased God that it flourished in Strasburg, by the pains of Matthias Lellius and Caspar Hedio, faithful labourers in the Lord's vineyard. Hither came Bucer, in the year of our Lord 1523, and was by them with all joyfulness received, as one who laboured with them for the converting and winning of souls unto Christ, and for the propagation of His truth, and by them appointed to preach publicly in the church, and to teach openly in the school, so that within a short time the doctrine of the Gospel took firm rooting in many places of the city; and they altered many things in the church, concerning mass, the sacraments, holy-

days, images, and the like, rendering strong reasons for what they did, in a book set forth by them, and dedicated unto Frederick, the prince elector Palatine.

Now because there was a difference betwixt the professors of the Gospel concerning some important matters, therefore a meeting was appointed at Marpurg, where Bucer and Hedio had conference with Luther and Zuinglius; where they agreed in all points, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper only excepted, wherein consubstantiation was affirmed on the part of Luther. Yet they departed each from the other friendly, intending to abstain altogether on both sides from strife and contention, and to pray unfeignedly unto the Lord that He would vouchsafe to instruct and guide them with His Holy Spirit in the way of truth. But Bucer hearing that this dissension amongst them concerning the Supper of the Lord was very grateful unto the Papists, he went unto Luther again, to urge him to a reconciliation in that point; from whom he received such an answer that forthwith he went to Zuinglius and the Switzers, to persuade them to adhere unto the same doctrine; for well he foresaw what great hurt that sacramentary dissension would bring unto the church, if it were not quickly cut off and taken away.

In the year of our Lord 1531, it pleased God to open the eyes of the inhabitants of Ulm, so that they greatly desired a reformation in their churches; and for that cause they requested the senate of Strasburg that Bucer might be sent over unto them, to lay the ground of so happy a building; which was faithfully performed by Bucer, together with the help and assistance of Œcolampadius, and a form of

Divine worship prescribed unto them. But perceiving still the course of the truth to be hindered and stopped by this difference about the sacrament, with the consent of the elector, he repaired again to Luther, being resident at Wittenberg; where, after some discourse, conclusions concerning the sacrament were agreed on betwixt the divines of Wittenberg and Higher Germany, in the year 1536. Yet, after some consideration, Bucer renounced the opinion of Luther concerning consubstantiation, (although he had subscribed unto it at Wittenberg,) and taught the contrary: wherefore Bucer with many others were there detained by the landgrave of Hassia [Hesse] until they came to an agreement amongst themselves; the chief heads whereof were sent unto Basil, which were not approved of by the senate.

Then Bucer returned to Strasburg; went forward in his exercise of preaching and teaching, not only in the church, but also in a public school, which had been newly erected at the proper cost and charges o the senate; where he remained unto the year 1541. About which time the Emperor Carolus Augustus [Charles V.] returned into Germany, and commanded a public conference at Reinspurg [Ratisbon], a city in Bavaria, concerning the reformation of religion; and, through the means and entreaty of Frederick, prince elector Palatine, and other Protestants and princes, he appointed Julius Pflugius, Johannes Eccius, Johannes Gropperus, Papists; and Philip Melancthon, Martinus Bucer, and Johannes Pistorius, Protestants, for the performance thereof. The emperor himself greatly charged them, in so weighty a matter to have respect only to the glory of God and of His truth, and not to be carried away with

any other favour or affection whatsoever. But in their conferences such disagreements were found amongst them, that by no means their opinions could be reconciled; and because also that Germany at that time feared the approaching of the Turks, the assembly was dissolved.

In this assembly Gropperus took great notice of Bucer, much applauding him for his lenity, conjoined with a comely gravity; and withal commended him unto Hermannus, then archbishop of Cologne, who at that time endeavoured also a reformation in the churches; and told him that he was a man most fit for such a purpose, being excellently learned, a lover of peace, and a man of unspotted life and conversation. Whereupon Hermannus sends for Bucer, who in the year 1542 came unto him, who with exceeding joy received and entertained him; where together with Melancthon he wrote the Manner of reforming Churches, which they dedicated unto the same archbishop. Many of the inhabitants approved of the work, and willingly yielded unto a reformation; but the clergy and those of the college were mightily incensed against Bucer, greatly reproaching and reviling him, affirming that they had rather lead their lives under the Turk than under a magistrate who intended to settle that reformation; and therefore they desired that Bucer, and all those new doctors, (as they termed them,) might be far removed from that city, shutting as it were the gates of mercy against their own souls. And Gropperus, who formerly had showed and professed much love unto him, came now to be his greatest enemy; and the archbishop, for his desire of a reformation, was excommunicated by the pope, and deprived of his

function and government by the emperor; and all those parts returned again like dogs unto their vomit.

In the year 1546 there was another assembly appointed by the emperor at Reinspurg [Ratisbon], unto which also Bucer was called; who at that time had a great conflict with Petrus Malvenda, a Spaniard, touching the justification of a sinner before God; but, in regard of divers troubles which did accompany these times, nothing could be concluded.

In the year 1548, Julius Pflugius, Michael Heldingus, and Johannes Agricola, by the commandment of the emperor, wrote a form of ecclesiastical reformation, little or no way differing from the opinions of the church of Rome; which work was approved by the emperor; and Bucer was craftily called by a magistrate of Brandenburg unto Augsburg, to subscribe unto the same work, persuading him that it was collected out of the most learned writers. But Bucer, understanding the matter fully, told him after a friendly manner that he could not approve of it, because it savoured too much of the doctrine of the church of Rome; neither would he be drawn thereunto, although the same party promised to confer large benefits upon him.

This book, by the command of the emperor, was thrust upon the Reformed churches; and those who withstood it were severely punished, either with imprisonment or banishment; and as it happily fell out, the fame of Bucer, and hard fortune of his painful contemporaneans, came into England, in the reign of that virtuous prince of blessed memory, Edward VI., even when a reformation began to be established in the church. Wherefore Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, perceiving that

he would be advantageous in that behalf, sent over letters unto him, wherein he persuaded him, with Paulus Fagius, to come into England; assuring them both of kind entertainment and a sufficient stipend, if it would please them to continue amongst them.

These letters coming to their hands, (because they saw little or no hopes of doing any good in Germany,) they resolved to visit England; and Bucer taking his leave of the senate of Strasburg, after he had supplied a pastoral office amongst them the space of twenty years, he with Fagius went for England in the year of grace 1549; where they arrived in good health, and were most courteously entertained, and a place provided for them in the University of Cambridge for the expounding of the Holy Scriptures, and a large stipend allotted unto them for the maintenance of their families; the university conferring one privilege on him, which was not given unto any before him; being this,—that, according to his desire, he was inaugurated into his office without any public ceremony. He was much admired of in the university for his learning, for the integrity of his life and conversation, for his plainness in his apparel, for his temperateness in his diet, for his constancy in his labours, and for his patience in his sickness.

Within short time after they came hither, they both fell into an irrecoverable sickness, by reason of the change of the air and diet. Fagius was the first that yielded his soul into the hands of God Bucer followed shortly after, who before his death prayed unto almighty God, that He would not suffer England to fall into those sins which had brought Germany unto great misery; and withal desired that

those things which he had written unto the king concerning the discipline of the church, might take firm footing in the kingdom. Master John Bradford coming to him in the time of his sickness, and telling him that he would remember him in his prayers, being that day to preach, he uttered these words: *Ne abjicias me, Domine, in tempore senectutis meæ, cùm defecerit virtus mea:* "Forsake me not, O Lord, in the time of my age, and when my strength faileth me." Being admonished in his sickness that he should arm himself against the assaults of the devil, he answered, that he had nothing to do with the devil, because he was wholly in Christ; and "God forbid, God forbid, but that I should have some experience of His heavenly comfort."

After sermon Bradford came to him again, and after some words declared unto him the great fear which the physicians had to prescribe any thing unto him, by reason of the weakness of his body; which he apprehending, with his eyes fixed towards heaven, he uttered these words: *Ille, Ille regit et moderatur omnia:* "He, He it is, that ruleth and governeth all things;" and so, in the midst of many godly prayers, he quietly yielded his soul unto the hands of God, on the 27th of February, in the year of our Lord 1551, being sixty-one years of his age. He was buried with great solemnity in St. Mary's in Cambridge, to the grief of many students. Before his bu ial a funeral sermon was delivered by Gualterus [Walter] Haddon; at his burial, by Dr. Parker.

After the death of Edward VI., his sister the Lady Mary coming to the crown, she restored the doctrine of the church of Rome; and in her days Cardinal Pole, the pope's legate, being a man of great autho

rity, laboured with might and main for the rooting out of heresy and heretics; (for so he termed the Gospel, and the professors thereof;) and for that cause he appointed five inquisitors, for the reformation of the University of Cambridge. These obtained that the bones of both these faithful ministers of Christ should be digged up, condemned of heresy, and delivered to the magistrate to be burnt, together with all the books of theirs which were extant in the kingdom. But in the reign of Queen Elizabeth this sentence was not approved, but rejected; and they were reckoned amongst the number of martyrs which had suffered for the truth of Christ.

The labours which he left behind him, as so many witnesses of his sufficiency and worth, are these which follow:—

1. The Psalms done out of Latin into Hebrew. 2. Enarrations on the four Evangelists. 3. Metaphrases on the Epistles of St. Paul. 4. A reconciling of hard Places of Scripture. 5. Commentaries of the Romans and the Ephesians. 6. A Commentary on Sophonius, done out of Hebrew. 7. A Preface to the fourth Tome of Luther's Postils. 8. Of the true Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies of Churches. 9. A gratulatory Letter unto the Church of England. 10. An Answer to the two Epistles of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, concerning the single Life of Priests. 11. Of the best Way to have Councils. 12. A Treatise of restoring Church Good. 13. An Epistle to the University at Marpurg. 14. To those of East Friezland. 15. The Confession of the Four Cities, Strasburg, Constance, Menin, and Lindau. 16. An Apology against Brentius, that Images are not to be had in Churches. 17. Of the

Baptism of Infants. 18. Of the Eucharist. 19. Of a National Synod. 20. Of a Council, against Cocleius and Gropperus. 21. Of the false and true Administration. 22. Of the Lord's Supper. 23. Of offering Masses. 24. Of Care for the Dead. 25. Of Purgatory. 26. Causes of the Absence of Divines from the Council of Trent. 27. Of the Kingdom of Christ, unto Edward VI., King of England. 28. Lectures at Cambridge upon the Ephesians. 29. Of the Power and Use of the Ministry. 30. An Admonition to the Ministers at Switzerland. 31. Psalter translated into Dutch. 32. An Admonition to the Ministers at Strasburg. 33. Of the true Office of a Pastor. 34. Of the Jews, how far to be suffered amongst Christians. 35. A Confutation of the new Faith set forth at Loran. 36. A Defence of the Colenish [Colognese] Reformation. 37. A Defence against Gropperus. 38. An Answer to a Dialogue against Protestants. 39. Of Church Goods, and who are the right Possessors of them. 40. Against the Bull of Paulus III. and his Legates' Demands. 41. A godly Admonition to the Emperor, Princes, and other States of the Empire assembled at Worms. 42. Against the Restoring of the Mass. 43. Impediments of Reformation. 44. Against the Sophists of Cologne. 45. Of the Conference at Reinsburg [Ratisbon]. 46. An Exposition of Psalm cxx. 47. A Treatise of Afflictions. 48. A Refutation of Calumnies. 49. A Sermon at Berne. 50. Of the Ministers and Sacraments. 51. Luther's Commentaries on the two Epistles of Peter. 52. Some Writings of Sturmius. 53. Retractations, with Commentaries on the Gospel. 54. A Treatise, that none ought to live to themselves.

That light of truth which shined in Bucer's breast
Enlighten'd others, and restored much rest
To many, whose unquiet souls did lie
Under the burden of idolatry.
He was laborious, striving every hour
To suck some honey from each pleasing flower.
He was beloved of all that loved to pry
Into the bosom of divinity.
Sweet was his life, and death; his well spent days
Began in goodness, and expired with praise.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CASPAR HEDIO,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1552.

Caspar Hedio was born at Etlingen, in the marquisate of Baden, of honest parents; and educated in learning at Friburg, where also he commenced Master of Arts; and from thence went to Basil, where he studied divinity, and commenced Doctor: whence he was called to preach in the chief church at Mentz. But some not liking such plain preaching, and the monks raising a persecution against him, he went thence to Argentine [Strasburg], *anno Christi* 1523; where he was a great assistant to Capito and Bucer in reforming of religion by the command of the senate.

There also he married a wife, *anno Christi* 1533; and though the Papists raised a great persecution in that city, yet he preached boldly against masses, in-

dulgences, auricular confession, &c., and wrote against them also. *Anno Christi* 1543, when Hermann, archbishop of Cologne, began a reformation, he sent for Bucer and Hedio to assist him therein: whence after he was driven by Cæsar [Charles V.] and his Spaniards, escaping through many difficulties and danger, he returned to Argentine [Strasburg]. What time he could spare from his ministerial employment, he spent in writing commentaries and histories. *Anno Christi* 1552 he sickened and died.

'T was not the rage of Papist could remove
The heart of Hedio from the real love
Of true divinity; he still inclined
Himself to preach with a resolved mind.
Let his example teach us to repose
Our trust in God in spite of threating foes.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF GEORGE, PRINCE OF ANHALT,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1553.

GEORGE, Prince of Anhalt, was born *anno Christi* 1507. His father was Prince Ernest, who was careful to bring him up in the fear of God; and for that end he placed him with George Forcheme, who was eminent for training up of youth; under whom he profited exceedingly, both in human literature, and in principles of divinity. Then he was set to the study of the law, wherein he profited very much also.

Having attained to the age of twenty-two years, he was chosen by Albert, elector of Mentz, to be one of his council; wherein he carried himself with high commendations, in managing the greatest state affairs.

But the controversies about religions waxing hot at this time, and Luther's books coming abroad, he fell to reading of them; and suspecting his own injudiciousness, he would often pray with tears to God to incline his heart to the truth; saying, "Deal with Thy servant according to Thy mercy, and instruct me in Thy righteousness." He was frequent in reading the Scriptures, ecclesiastical histories, Augustine, Jerome, and Lombard. He studied also Greek and Hebrew, and discoursed with learned men about the controversies: and, after all, upon mature deliberation, he embraced the Reformed religion, and reformed the churches, with the counsel of his brethren, within his own jurisdiction.

Anno Christi 1545, he was called to the government of the churches within the diocese of Mersburg, where he was careful to have the truth preached to the people. He lived with much continency in a single life. He took much pains both in writing and preaching. He was very charitable; a great promoter of peace amongst princes; very free from ambition, hatred, and revenge. He used often to say, *Subditus esto Deo, et ora Eum, &c.*: "Submit thyself to God, and pray unto Him; for He is 'near to those that are of a contrite heart, and wil the humble in spirit.'" He employed his time so well, that he left none for pleasures; and used to say, that nothing refreshed him more in his sorrows than conference with learned and godly men.

Falling sick of a most troublesome disease, he was frequent in holy prayer, for himself, for all the princes of that family, for his country, and for Germany. He had some portions of Holy Scriptures daily read to him. He made his will, wherein he set down the confession of his faith, and commended the defence of his churches to his brother. He added something to the stipends of all the godly ministers under his charge. He often ruminated upon those texts, "God so loved the world, that He gave," &c. "No man shall take My sheep out of My hand." "Come unto Me, all ye that are weary," &c. And so, in holy meditations and prayer, he resigned up his spirit unto God, *anno Christi* 1543, and of his age 47.

A prince by birth, and of a princely mind,
Full fraught with virtues of each several kind,
Is here presented; ornaments of grace,
Such as do challenge, not the second place,
But first by merit. Here you may behold
One whose rare virtues no pen can unfold.
In pious duties he did strive to be
Transcendent; who was by nature free;
For to the poor he relief did give,
During the time that he on earth did live.
Read but his Life, and then at large you'll see,
Monopolized in him most virtues be.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JUSTUS JONAS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1555.

Justus Jonas was born at Northusa [Nordhausen], *anno Christi* 1493, where his father was a senator; who, falling sick of the plague, and having applied an onion to the sore, and taken it off, and laid it by him, this little Jonas coming took the onion and ate it up, yet without any prejudice to himself, God miraculously preserving of him. He was first brought up at school; afterwards he studied law, and made a good progress therein. But, upon better thoughts, he studied divinity, and proceeded Doctor, and embraced the Reformed religion; and was called, *anno Christi* 1521, to a pastoral charge in Wittenberg. He was present at most of the disputations about religion, where he defended the truth strenuously, and endeavoured to promote peace. He was also made a Professor in that university.

He, with Spalatine and Amsdorfius, was employed by the elector of Saxony to reform the churches in Misnia and Thuringia. From thence he was called unto Halle in Saxony, where he preached and promoted religion exceedingly. Luther sometimes resorted thither to him; and took him along with him in his last journey to Eisleben, where he died: after whose death he remained a while in the duke of Saxony's court, and was a constant companion of John Frederick's sons in all their afflictions. And, lastly, he was set over the church in Eisfeld, where he ended his days in much peace and comfort, *anno*

Christi 1555, and of his age 63. Being once under temptations, and in great agony, he showed much despondency; but his servant, partly by comforting of him and partly by chiding of him, cheered him up; and at last, through God's mercy, the Spirit prevailed against the flesh.

Justus by name, no poison sure could kill,
God so protected him from what was ill:
The venom of the plague did seem to be
No poison unto him, for he scaped free;
Although the onion he by chance did eat,
That poison'd was by the plague's strong heat.
Nor was his body, but his mind as free
From the contagion of hell's leprosy:
For all his study was, how to obtain
That happy treasure, whereby he might gain
Heaven at the last; and sure unto that place
He's long since gone; who was his country's grace.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN ROGERS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1555.

John Rogers was born in England, and brought up at the University of Cambridge, where he profited very much in good learning; and from thence was chosen by the merchant adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp, to whom he preached many years; and there falling into acquaintance with William Tindale and Miles Coverdale, (who were fled

from persecution in England,) he, by their means, profited much in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and joined with them in that painful and profitable work of translating the Bible into English. There he married a wife; and from thence he went to Wittenberg, where he much profited in learning, and grew so skilful in the Dutch [German] tongue, that he was chosen pastor to a congregation there; where he discharged his office with diligence and faithfulness many years. But in King Edward's time he was sent for home by Bishop Ridley, and was made a prebend of Paul's; in which place he preached faithfully till Queen Mary's days; and in the beginning of her reign, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, he exhorted the people constantly to adhere to that doctrine which they had been taught, and to beware of pestilent Popery, &c.; for which he was called before the lords of the council, where he made a stout, witty, and godly answer, and was dismissed.

But after the queen's proclamation against true preaching, he was again called, (the bishops thirsting for his blood,) and committed prisoner to his own house; whence he might have escaped, and had many motives, as his wife and ten children, his friends in Germany, where he could not want preferment, &c. But being once called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, though to the hazard of his life. From his own house he was removed by Bonner to Newgate, amongst thieves and murderers. He was examined by the lord chancellor and the rest of the council, and by them was re-committed to prison. He was much pressed to recant, but stoutly refusing, was first excommunicated and degraded, and then condemned: after which he

desired that his wife (to whom he had been married eighteen years, and by whom he had ten children, and she being a stranger) might be admitted to come to him whilst he lived: but Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor, would by no means suffer it.

February the fourth, *anno Christi* 1555, he was warned to prepare for death before he rose. "If it be so," said he, "I need not tie my points;" and so he was presently had away to Bonner to be degraded; of whom he earnestly requested to be admitted to speak with his wife, but could not prevail. From thence he was carried into Smithfield, where scarce being permitted to speak to the people, he briefly persuaded them to perseverance in that truth which he had taught them, which also he was now ready to seal with his blood. Then was a pardon proffered to him, if he would recant; but he utterly refused it. His wife, with nine small children, and the tenth sucking at her breast, came to him; but this sorrowful sight nothing moved him, but in the flames he washed his hands, and with wonderful patience took his death; all the people exceedingly rejoicing at his constancy, and praising God for it. He was the Proto-martyr in Queen Mary's days. The Sabbath before his death he drank to Master Hooper, who lay in a chamber beneath him; bidding the messenger to commend him to him, and to tell him, that there was never little fellow that would better stick to a man, than he would to him; supposing they should be both burned together, although it happened otherwise.

Though this grave father was enforced to fly
His envious country for security,

Yet his undaunted courage would not move,
That always stood (as sentinel) to love.
'T was not a prison could affection 'suage;
He, like a bird, sang sweetest in a cage.
When first the Bible, with great pains and care,
He into English did translate so far,
That knowing men did admire the same,
And justly did extol his lasting fame;
Who did contemn the fury of all those
Who both to us and him were mortal foes.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF LAURENCE SAUNDERS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1555.

LAURENCE SAUNDERS was born of worshipful parents; brought up in learning at Eton school, and from thence chosen to King's College in Cambridge; where he continued three years, and profited in learning very much. Then by his mother, who was very rich, he was bound to a merchant in London; but not affecting that course of life, his master gave him his indentures, and he returned to his studies in Cambridge, where also he studied Greek and Hebrew, but especially the Holy Scriptures. He was frequent and very fervent in prayer; and when assaulted by temptations, he still found much support and comfort in prayer, whereby he gained such experience that he became a great comforter of others. He commenced Master of Arts, and stayed long after in the university.

In the beginning of King Edward's reign he began to preach, (being first ordained a minister,) and that with such general approbation that he was chosen to read a divinity lecture at Fotheringay; where by his doctrine and life he drew many to God, and stopped the mouths of the adversaries. About which time he married a wife: and from thence he was removed to the minster of Lichfield, where also he by his life and doctrine got a good report, even from his adversaries. From thence he was removed to Church-Langton in Leicestershire, and from thence to Allhallows in Bread Street, London; and after his admission there, he went back into the country to resign his benefice, which fell out when Queen Mary raised stirs to get the crown.

In his journey he preached at Northampton, not meddling with the state, but boldly delivered his conscience against Popish doctrine and errors "which," said he, "are like to spring up again, as a just plague for the little love which England hath borne to the true word of God, so plentifully offered to them." And seeing the dreadful day approaching, inflamed with goldly zeal, he preached diligently at both his benefices, not having opportunity to resign either, but into the hands of the Papists: and, notwithstanding the proclamation to the contrary, he taught diligently the truth, at his country place where he then was, confirming the people, and arming them against false doctrine, till by force he was resisted. Some counselled him to fly out of the kingdom, which he refused; and being hindered there from preaching, he travelled towards London, to visit his flock in that place.

Coming near London, Master Mordant, one of the

queen's council, overtook him; asked him if he did not preach such a time in Bread Street. He said, "Yea." "And will you," said Mordant, "preach so again?" "Yes," said he, "to-morrow you may hear me there, where I will confirm by God's word all that I then preached." "I would counsel you," said the other, "to forbear." Saunders said, "If you will forbid me by lawful authority, I must then forbear." "Nay," [said] Mordant, "I will not forbid you;" and so they parted. Mordant went presently to Bishop Bonner, and informed him of Master Saunders's purpose to preach the next day: which accordingly he did; and at his lodging being somewhat troubled in his thoughts, a friend of his asked him how he did. "Truly," said he, "I am in prison, till I be in prison." In the afternoon he prepared himself to preach again; but Bonner sent an officer for him, who carried him to the bishop, where was Mordant also. The bishop charged him with treason, heresy, and sedition; and required him to write his judgment about transubstantiation; which he did, saying, "You seek my blood, and you shall have it. I pray God you may be so baptized in it, that you may hereafter loathe blood-sucking, and become a better man." Then Bonner sent him to Gardiner, where he waited four hours before he was called in: and, after some discourse with him, Gardiner sent him to prison; to whom he said, "I thank God that at last He hath given me a place of rest, where I may pray for your conversion."

He continued in prison one year and three months. In a letter to his wife he writes, "I am merry, and I trust I shall be merry, maugre the teeth of all the devils in hell. Riches I have none to endow you with;

but that treasure of tasting how sweet Christ is to hungry consciences, (whereof, I thank my Christ, I do feel part,) that I bequeath unto you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ," &c. Being at last brought again to examination, and life being promised if he would recant, he answered, "I love my life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience: but by God's grace I will abide the most extremity that man can do against me, rather than do any thing against my conscience." Being condemned, he was sent to Coventry to be burned. When he came near the place of execution, he went cheerfully to the stake, kissing of it, and saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!" and the fire being kindled, he sweetly slept in the Lord.

Dr. Pendleton and this Master Saunders meeting together in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, and speaking of the persecution that was like to ensue, about which Master Saunders showed much weakness and many fears; Pendleton said to him, "What, man? there is much more cause for me to fear than for you, forasmuch as I have a big and fat body; yet will I see the utmost drop of this grease of mine molten away, and the last gobbet of this flesh of mine consumed to ashes, before I will forsake Jesus Christ, and His truth which I have professed." Yet, not long after, upon trial, poor, feeble, faint-hearted Saunders, by the power and goodness of God, sealed the truth with his blood: whereas proud Pendleton played the apostate, and turned Papist.

He from inferior parents did not spring,
But such as noble were in every thing.

Nor did his life but to their splendour add,
Which made both them and all that knew him glad.
For he in knowledge did so high excel,
That passeth out of man almost to tell,
Whether his knowledge or his virtues were
The more resplendent: yet a holy fear
Did seem to equal both; and, which doth crown
Him all-triumphant, he pass'd martyrdom
With such high courage, and so rare a zeal,
That I want words his worth for to reveal.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN HOOPER

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1555.

John Hooper was a student and graduate in the University of Oxford; where having abundantly profited in the study of other sciences, he was stirred up with a fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures; in which study he joined earnest prayers to his diligence, for the better understanding of the same. But the Six Articles coming out at that time,* he was so hated by some, especially by Dr. Smith, that he was compelled to leave the university, and went to live with Sir Thomas Arundel; and danger approaching there also, he left the kingdom, and

* [The law of the Six Articles, enacted in 1539, was designed to enforce belief of, 1. Transubstantiation; 2. Communion in one kind; 3. Celibacy of priests; 4. Vows of chastity; 5. Private masses; 6. Auricular confession. —Ed.]

went to Paris. Yet after a while he returned again, and lived with one Mr. Sentlow; but, understanding that snares were again laid for him, with much difficulty and danger he escaped the second time into France, and from thence travelled into Germany. At Zurich Master Bullinger became his especial friend, where he studied Hebrew: and hearing that King Edward VI. was come to the crown, he was desirous to return into England; and when he took his leave of Bullinger, he, with hearty thanks for all kindnesses, promised to write often to him of all his affairs. "But," saith he, "the last news of all I shall not be able to write; for where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes."

Returning to London, he preached twice, but at least once, every day. The people so flocked to him that the churches could not contain them. In this pains-taking he continued to his life's end; neither did his labour break him, nor promotion change him, nor dainty fare corrupt him. He was of a strong body, sound health, pregnant wit, and of invincible patience; spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time; a liberal housekeeper, and very grave in his carriage.

Being by King Edward made, first, bishop of Gloucester, then of Worcester, he carried himself so uprightly and inoffensively that his enemies had nothing to say against him. He used to go about from town to town, and from village to village, to preach unto the people. He governed his house so, that in every corner of it there was some smell of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the Scriptures. In his hall there was daily a table spread with good store of victuals, and beset

with poor folk of the city of Worcester by turns, who were served, by four at a mess, with whole and wholesome meat: and when they were served, (being before examined by himself or his deputies, of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments,) then he himself sate down to dinner, and not before.

In the beginning of Queen Mary's days he was sent for by a pursuivant to London; and though he had opportunity, and was persuaded by his friends, to fly, yet he refused, saying, "Once I did fly; but now being called to this place and vocation, I am resolved to stay, and to live and die with my sheep." By [the bishop of] Winchester, when he came to London, he was railed upon, and committed to prison. Afterwards also, at his examination, they called him "beast, hypocrite," &c.; which he bore without answering again. In the Fleet, where he was prisoner, he had nothing but a pad of straw for a bed, and a rotten covering, till good people sent him a bed to lie on. Of one side his chamber was the sink and filth of the house; on the other, the town ditch, enough to have choked him. After he had lain thus a while, falling sick, the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all made fast, he both mourned, called and cried for help; yet the warden hearing, would suffer none to go to him, saying, "Let him alone; if he die, it were a good riddance of him," &c.

At last, being degraded and condemned, he was sent to Gloucester to be burned. The night before his death he did eat his meat quietly, and slept soundly. After his first sleep, he spent the rest of the night in prayer. The next day Sir Anthony Kingston, coming to him, told him that life was

sweet, and death bitter: to which he answered, "The *death to come* is more bitter, and the *life to come* more sweet. I am come hither to end this life, and suffer death, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have here taught unto you." Also a blind boy coming to him, after he had examined him in the grounds of religion, he said, "Ah, poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, but hath given thee another sight much more precious; having endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith."

Being delivered to the sheriff, he said to him, "My request to you, Master Sheriff, is only that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end of me; and in the mean time I will be as obedient to you as you can desire. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done. I might have had my life with much worldly gain; but I am willing to offer up my life for the truth, and trust to die a faithful servant to God, and a true subject to the queen." When he saw the sheriff's men with so many weapons, he said, "This is more than needs. If you had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all." As he went to the stake, he was forbid to speak to the people. He looked cheerfully, and with a more ruddy countenance than ordinary. Being come thither, he prayed about half an hour: and having a box with a pardon set before him, he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! If you love my soul, away with it!"

Three irons being prepared to fasten him to the stake, he only put on an iron hoop about his middle, bidding them take away the rest, saying, "I doubt

not but God will give me strength to abide the extremity of the fire without binding." When reeds were cast to him, he embraced and kissed them, putting them under his arm, where he had bags of gunpowder also. When fire was first put to him, the faggots being green, and the wind blowing away the flame, he was but scorched: more faggots being laid to him, the fire was so suppressed that his nether parts were burned, his upper being scarce touched. He prayed, "O Jesus, the Son of David! have mercy upon me, and receive my soul:" and, wiping his eyes with his hands, he said, "For God's love, let me have more fire!" A third fire being kindled, it burned more violently; yet was he alive a great while in it; the last words which he uttered being, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

In one of his letters he wrote, "Imprisonment is painful, but liberty upon evil conditions is worse: the prison stinks, yet not so much as sweet houses, where the fear of God is wanting. I must be alone and solitary; it 's better to be so, and have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked. Loss of goods is great, but loss of grace and God's favour is greater. I cannot tell how to answer before great and learned men; yet it is better to do that, than stand naked before God's tribunal. I shall die by the hands of cruel men: he is blessed that loseth this life, and findeth life eternal. There is neither felicity nor adversity of this world that is great, if it be weighed with the joys and pains of the world to come."

Reader, behold, and then admire,
Hooper's most rich seraphic fire.

His constancy was great: his heart
(Balsam'd by Heaven) outvied all smart.
Rare was his life, rare was his death;
Whilst time remains, his fame shall want no breath.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ROWLAND TAILOR,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1555.

Rowland Tailor was Doctor in both the Laws, and rector of Hadley in Suffolk, where Master Thomas Bilney had formerly been a preacher of the word, and in which place there were few either men or women that were not well learned in the Holy Scriptures; many having often read over the whole Bible, and could say a great part of Paul's Epistles by heart. Here this Dr. Tailor preached constantly on Sabbaths, holy-days, and at other times when he could get the people together. His life also, and conversation, was very exemplary, and full of holiness. He was meek and humble, yet would stoutly rebuke sin in the greatest. To the poor, blind, lame, sick, bed-rid, or that had many children, he was a father, causing the parishioners to make good provision for them, besides what of his own bounty he gave them. He brought up his children in the fear of God, and good learning.

In the begining of Queen Mary's reign, two Popish persons suborned a priest to come and say mass in his church. He, being at his study, and hearing the

bell to toll, went to church, and, finding this priest guarded with drawn swords, in his Popish robes, ready to begin the mass, he said unto him, "Thou devil, who made thee so bold to enter into this church, to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry? I command thee, thou Popish wolf, in the name of God to avoid hence, and not to presume thus to poison Christ's flock." But the standers-by forcing Dr. Tailor out of the church, the priest went on with his mass: and, shortly after, the bishop, being informed hereof, sent his letters missive for Dr. Tailor. Whereupon his friends earnestly entreated him to fly, telling him that he could neither expect justice nor favour, but imprisonment and cruel death: to whom he answered, "I know my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will by God's grace appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doings; for I believe that I shall never be able to do God so good service as now, and that I shall never have so glorious a calling nor so great mercy of God proffered me as I have now. Wherefore pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me strength, and His Holy Spirit, that all my adversaries shall be ashamed of their doings." And so preparing himself, he went to London, and presented himself to Stephen Gardiner, lord chancellor of England; who railed upon him, asked him if he knew him not, &c.; to whom he answered, "Yea, I know you, and all your greatness; yet you are but a mortal man: and if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God the Lord of us all?" &c. But after other discourse, he sent him to the King's Bench, commanding his keeper to keep him strictly. In prison he spent his

time in prayer, reading the Scriptures, preaching to the prisoners, and to others that resorted to him. He was divers times examined of his faith, and witnessed a good confession before his adversaries, for which at last he was condemned to die. When his sentence was read, he told them that God, the righteous Judge, would require his blood at their hands; and that the proudest of them all should repent their receiving again of Antichrist, and their tyranny against the flock of Christ.

He was sent down to Hadley to be burned; and all the way as he went, he was very merry, as one that went to a banquet or bridal. In his journey the sheriff of Essex persuaded him much to return to the Popish religion, &c.: to whom at last he answered, "I well perceive now that I have been deceived myself, and shall deceive many in Hadley of their expectation." When the sheriff desired him to explain his meaning, hoping that he would recant, he said, "I am a man of a very great carcass, which I had hoped should have been buried in Hadley churchyard; but I see I am deceived, and there are a great number of worms there, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion; but now both I and they shall be deceived of our expectation." When he came within two miles of Hadley, he desired to alight; and being down, he leapt, and fet [fetched] a frisk or two; saying, "God be praised, I am now almost at home, and have not past a mile or two, and I am even at my Father's house."

At Hadley town's end a poor man with five children met him, crying, "O dear father and good shepherd, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succour'd me and my poor children."

The streets were full of people weeping, and bewailing their loss; to whom he said, "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come to seal it with my blood." He gave all his money to the poor, for whom he was wont thus to provide formerly: once a fortnight at least he used to call upon Sir Henry Doil, and other rich clothiers, to go with him to the almshouses, to see what the poor lacked in meat, drink, apparel, bedding, and other necessaries; withal exhorting, comforting, and rebuking, as he saw occasion. Coming to the place of execution, he was not suffered to speak to the people, who much lamented his death: yet he was very cheerful, saying, "Thanks be to God, I am even at home." And when he had prayed, and made himself ready, he went to the stake, and kissed it. The fire being kindled, he held up his hands, called upon God, saying, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into Thy hands;" and so stood still without moving, till one with a halberd struck out his brains.

Among the many champions of the Lord,
Who with their blood to truth did bear record,
And feared not in furious flames to fry,
That they Christ's Gospel's light might magnify,
Was pious precious Doctor Tailor stout;
Who did the fight of faith to th' death fight out.
A very learned, painful pastor grave;
Who to his flock full testimony gave
Of his great wisdom, charity, and love,
And all soul-saving graces from above;
Who, for opposing Rome's impiety,
Being apprehended and condemned to die,





JOHN BRADFORD.

UNIV. OF

He kiss'd his stake, being bound to it in chains;
Burning, a Popish wretch beat out his brains.
And thus this blessed martyr cheerfully
Went to his heavenly home triumphantly.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN BRADFORD.

NEXT to this last mad septenary of unchristian liberty and unparalleled distractions, the devil never seemed to enjoy more chain in this kingdom than in the time of Queen Mary: wherein—laying hold on the weakness and superstition of a silly woman, bred up in Popery, and, by reason of the bar interposed betwixt her and the crown by her royal brother Edward VI., wholly subjected to the violent and bloody counsels of that faction, which finally prevailed in her restitution and establishment—he kindled more bonfires in the space of three or four years in England than the world had at any time beheld, in so few years, and in one kingdom, since the last of the first ten persecutions. I dare not upon Master Foxe's bare report (who was sometimes, and perhaps of purpose by the adversaries themselves, miserably abused in his informations) acknowledge all for martyrs, whom I find in his catalogue. But what will Stapleton or any other Papist get by that? The church of England, as it was of late reformed, and the Reformation by law established, hath produced and added as many genuine, knowing, and valiant cham-

pions to that "noble army," as within these thousand years any church in Christendom: which is glory enough, without hooking in either heretic or schismatic, or any other, who suffered for nothing less than well-doing. And from a chief place amongst those holy men, and witnesses to the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, all Stapleton's exceptions, bitter railing, and intemperate scoffs, cannot, ought not, exclude this blessed saint and servant of God, John Bradford; as shall evidently appear to as many as without prejudice shall peruse and ponder his ensuing history; which, God willing, we will drive through the whole course of his life, from his birth to his martyrdom. But to take our rise from his birth.

He was born in Manchester: the quality of his parents (though their means be not recorded) may be easily gathered by his education, which was the best that either that place or those times could afford; for he arrived very early at the knowledge of the Latin tongue; and for arithmetic he had few equals in those parts; both which being adorned and helped forward by a fair and speedy hand, he became fit for employment abroad, before any great notice was taken of him at home. Which moved Sir John Harrington, a noble knight, and in good esteem both with King Henry VIII. and his son Edward VI., to assume him into the number of his fellows, and employ him in his most private and urgent affairs both at home and abroad. For at Boulogne he was treasurer at wars; and here he had the charge and oversight of all his majesty's buildings. In both employments, he found the service of young Bradford (who, besides his honesty and diligence, had a notable

dexterity in casting up and auditing accounts) of such importance, that wherever he employed him, he committed all to his trust, and owned whatsoever he did as immediately done by himself. And truly therein he more favoured himself than Bradford, who, in the whole course of his employment, so acquitted himself as it is hard to determine whether therein he used greater diligence or integrity.

But, having spent divers years in this honest and thrifty course of life; wherein if he had persisted, he was in a fair way both of wealth and worship; he began to elevate his thoughts above these temporary things, and aspire to a service less profitable, but much more honourable. Wherefore, making up his accounts with his master, (who neither would nor could dissuade him from what he had once resolved,) he gave himself wholly to the study of divinity, and reading of the Scriptures. But, perceiving how useful and necessary a handmaid humanity is to divinity, and how short he came of those tongues and sciences, without which it was improbable, if not impossible, for him to attain any perfection in the noblest and most supereminent of all other sciences, at which he chiefly aimed; leaving the Temple at London, where he usually bestowed some few hours every day in hearing the reader of the Common Law; he betook himself to the University of Cambridge, as neither able nor desirous to suppress that which inwardly moved him, to fit himself for an able workman in a more spiritual building.

After a year and some few months spent in the university, he attained his degree of Master in Arts, whereunto others are hardly admitted after long examination and seven years' painful study. But

such was his carriage, diligence, and proficiency, that this favour, though extraordinary and insolent,* was thought well bestowed upon him by the whole university. And lest any man may think it was rather (out of charity) deferred to his years than abilities, he was immediately hereafter, without any interposal of time, chosen Fellow of Pembroke Hall: which first brought him to the eye, and afterwards to the bosom, of that learned and notable stickler in the Reformation, Martin Bucer, by whom he was again encouraged, and stirred up to the work of the ministry. Not that he found him stagger in his resolution, or fall from his principles; but because the greater measure of knowledge he attained, the longer he deferred the performance of his promise, as ever thinking himself the more insufficient for so high and laborious a calling. Being one time (amongst many) moved by Bucer to defer the employment of his talent no longer, and he pretending (as formerly) his present inability; "If thou canst not attain unto manchet,"† said Bucer, "mayest thou not therefore feed this poor and soul-starved people with barley loaves?"—which, proceeding from a man he so sincerely loved, and upon whose judgment he so much relied, made him lay aside all his former tergiversations, and in good earnest buckle himself to the work.

But, because no man can take upon him that function, unless he be called, as was Aaron; though he doubted not of his inward vocation by God, yet would he by no means thrust his sickle into that sacred harvest, before he was called by the church, and

* [Used here not with our modern meaning, but in the sense of "unusual, not customary."—Ed.]

† [A small loaf of fine bread.—Ed.]

separated thereunto by imposition of hands; which, with a licence to preach, and a prebend in St. Paul's, he obtained from that renowned bishop and glorious martyr, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London. For three years together, he preached faithfully and diligently, in season and out of season; being a sharp and impartial reprover of vice, a vehement exhorter to virtue; no man opposing heresies with greater animosity, or asserting the truth with more evidence and perspicuity: whereby his fame spread itself almost over the whole kingdom. And yet all this was but an introduction to that which followed. For King Edward VI. (of blessed memory) expiring with the last of these three years; and his sister Queen Mary, contrary to his last will and testament, [being] advanced to the crown, though not without some opposition, which she easily overcame; he was suddenly deprived both of his livelihood and liberty, upon an occasion which deserved much rather reward than punishment. And this it was:—

In the first year of the queen's reign, and not long after her coronation, Master Bourne, who was shortly thereafter, by the favour of Secretary Bourne, consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells, made a most invective and seditious sermon at Paul's Cross; wherein he not only cast dirt upon his late deceased King Edward VI., but vented and maintained many Popish tenets, contrary to the orthodox religion then established: which drove the common people into such a fury and tumult, that neither the reverence of the place, the persuasion of the bishop, nor the authority and presence of the lord mayor, could stop them from pulling him out of the pulpit. Gladly he would have ended his sermon; (for, belike, his great-

est strength and confidence to lead his auditors hoodwinked into their old *mumpsimus* lay in his peroration;) but, perceiving by a drawn dagger, which, amongst other implements, was flung at him, and missed him but very narrowly, that the multitude were in good earnest, and his life in jeopardy, he turned himself about, and perceived Master Bradford standing at his back within the pulpit; whom he earnestly entreated to supply his place, and save his life, by pacifying the people. He no sooner appeared in the other's room, but the people joyfully ingeminated with a loud voice, "Bradford, Bradford!" and by that time he had a little enlarged himself in the point of obedience, the tumult seemed more than half appeased.

But, the sermon ended, and Bourne (as he had reason) not yet daring to commit himself to the so lately enraged multitude, notwithstanding he was backed by the lord mayor and sheriffs, [he] besought Master Bradford not to leave him, until he brought him into some place of security. Whereunto he willingly consented; and when the multitude (for the greater part) were dispersed, under the covert of his own gown, he conveyed him into the next house, which was the schoolmaster's; effecting that by the *word*, which the mayor could not do for him by the *sword*. Many were sore grieved at his escape: and some stuck not to prophesy (I know not by what spirit) that, by saving this wiling Rabshakeh from death, he had given a deadly blow to his own life. Howsoever, Bradford committed the issue to almighty God; nothing repented his charity, which he was sure would find reward with Him, what acceptance soever it found amongst wicked and unthank-

ful men. Yea, so far was he from being afraid or sorry for what he had done, that in his afternoon's sermon at Bow Church he sharply reprehended his auditors for their forenoon's tumultuous carriage and sedition. And yet such was the malice of the common adversary, and iniquity of the times, that, about three days after, for this very fact he was summoned to appear before the council, and by the lords committed to the Tower, from whence, within few weeks, they removed him to the King's Bench; where (through the keeper's connivance) he had often conference with Master Laurence Saunders, at that time a prisoner in the Marshalsea.

Bishop Farrar he found in the King's Bench before him, where having endured a close and tedious imprisonment, he began at length, through human infirmity, to recoil in the point of transubstantiation, insomuch that he undertook to communicate under *one kind* at Easter following. But Bradford dealt so effectually with him, that he revoked this promise, and resumed his former principles. His occasions of escape were as many as the days of his imprisonment, whereby any man may see, to save his life, he would not break his word with his keepers. Being asked what course he would take, if God should deliver him out of prison; he said, he would not fly out of the kingdom, but there preach, though secretly, as the times would permit him. During his long restraint, he was oftentimes examined: first, by the lords of the council, at what time he was clapt up in the Tower; which was in August, 1553: but of that examination there is nothing now extant, except only one passage repeated in the second. After that, by the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of Eng-

land, and other select commissioners, January 22nd, 1555.

The things laid to his charge were principally these:—that he was the author of the tumult at Bourne's sermon, because (forsooth) he so readily and dexterously appeased the same:—that he presumed to preach without licence, though he had been a divinity lecturer at Paul's two years before that tumult:—and that, upon his first committal to the Tower, he had answered the queen's council peremptorily and saucily in the point of religion; as that he was now more than ever confirmed in the same, as it was reformed and professed under Edward VI. The first and last of these articles he denied, saving the words last repeated; the second he laboured to justify, as not requisite from them, by any law at that time in force, when he preached. In the conclusion, they twitted him in the teeth with heresy, and accused him of writing from the Tower seditious letters into Lancaster: whereto, because they descended not to particulars, he gave them only general answers. The whole conference was larded with an often repeated tender of the queen's mercy, in case he would confess his sedition, acknowledge and abjure his heresies, and return to the bosom of the Romish church, after their example. To the first he said, he could not acknowledge himself guilty of what he neither committed nor intended. To the second, that he never preached or patronized any error to his knowledge; being ready to abjure whatsoever he was not able to defend. To the third, that he willingly embraced the queen's mercy, though he neither needed nor could accept thereof, as they were pleased to clog it with conditions repugnant to the

word of God, and the clear light of his own conscience.

The 19th day of January following, he was the third time convented, in St. Mary Overies, before the same Winchester, and divers other bishops his fellow commissioners; where at first the same things were again objected unto him, and received the same answers. After much jangling and a second offer of mercy upon the former condition, they required a peremptory and positive account of his faith, concerning Christ's corporal presence in the eucharist. To which he replied, that during a year and eight months' imprisonment they had never pressed him with that question; but now that, by altering the state of religion, they had made the contrary opinion unto theirs heretical, and all heresy interpretatively, and by consequence, capital, it is more than evident what thereby they hunted after. This drove the lord chancellor into a long apologetical oration of his own innocency and notorious lenity in that kind; which ended without expecting what Bradford would reply; upon some intelligence from the kitchen, he adjourned the court, and went home to dinner.

The day following, which was the fourth and last of his appearance, he was brought to the same place, and before the same judges; where, after many interrogatories and answers concerning the corporal presence, the pope and queen's authority, and other emergent questions, (which, if here inserted, would swell the process of his death to thrice the length of his life, but may be found at large in the Martyrology,) he was finally condemned for worshipping the God of our fathers, after that way which those blood-suckers called heresy, excommunicated, and delivered

over to the secular powers, (January 31st, 1555,) who first committed him to the Clink, and afterwards to the Counter: where he remained to the first of July following, and had many hot disputes and sharp conflicts,—1. With Bonner, bishop of London; 2. With Master Wollerton, the bishop's chaplain; 3. Percival Creswell and Dr. Harding; 4. Dr. Harpsfield and Dr. Harding; 5. With Heath, archbishop of York, and Day, bishop of Chichester; 6. With two Spanish friars, Alphonsus à Castro, and King Philip's confessor; 7. Dr. Weston, and Master Collier, warden of Manchester; 8. Dr. Pendleton; 9. With Dr. Weston, and others; 10. With Dr. Weston alone. For many visited him after condemnation; some, as the devil did our blessed Saviour, to tempt and pervert him, and some to receive instruction and comfort by him. For in his two last prisons he preached constantly twice every Lord's Day, and frequently administered the Lord's Supper to his fellow prisoners; visiting them all, almost every day, even to the thieves and cutpurses in the Grate, and almost (if he had it) as often relieving them.

At first, they resolved to burn him at Manchester, where he was born; but altered that resolution, I know not upon what occasion. The Saturday at night before he suffered, he dreamed his chain was brought to the Counter gate, that, the next day being Sunday, he should be had to Newgate, and burned at Smithfield the Monday ensuing; which, after many frightful awakings, still recurring to his troubled fancy, he arose, and, communicating what he had dreamed to his chamber-fellow, fell to his old exercise of reading and praying. The next day after dinner, whilst he discoursed of the ripeness of sin,

of death, and the kingdom of heaven, up came the keeper's wife half beside herself, and said unto him with tears in her eyes, "O Master Bradford, your chain is now a hammering; to-night you will be removed to Newgate, and to-morrow burned at Smithfield." Having heard her out, with hands and eyes lifted up unto heaven, he blessed God, who had thought him worthy, and made him willing, to suffer for His truth; thanked the good woman for her compassion, but more for her news; and so went up to his chamber, where he spent some hours in prayer, and then called up his chamber-fellow, to whom he gave some things privately in charge, and delivered certain papers, but of what concernment I cannot find.

The rest of that afternoon he spent in prayer and other heavenly exercises, which he performed with admirable adhesion to God, and abstraction from the world; being oftentimes so transported and elevated in his raptures, that he seemed already in possession of that crown, which for the present, through fire and faggots, he but aspired to; to the great admiration and comfort of as many of his friends as that day had the happiness to visit him. Having blessed, and distributed such things amongst the servants of the house as he thought fit, he made a most fervent and pathetical farewell prayer in the company of his fellow prisoners, with such ravishment of spirit and abundance of tears, that the hardest-hearted amongst them could not choose but sympathize with him. In the midst of this prayer, when he put on the *shirt* wherein he was to be burned, he enlarged himself in a most sweet meditation, of the *wedding garment;* and after that, about twelve o'clock in the night, came down into the court, where the prisoners took

their final leave of him. As he went from the Counter to Newgate, though it was about midnight, yet great multitudes of people were gathered together in the streets, who much lamented and earnestly prayed for him; to whom he returned their courtesy in both kinds with interest.

About nine in the morning he was led forth to Smithfield with a very great guard. As he came down the stairs, he espied an old friend, whom he called unto him, embraced, and, after some private whisperings, bestowed upon him his velvet night-cap, handkerchief, and some other trifles. And yet Roger Beswicke, his brother-in-law, had his head cruelly broken by Sheriff Woodroffe, for but offering to speak to him: for which, and other his barbarous inhumanities, committed against the saints and faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ at such times, a heavy and visible judgment overtook him within few years thereafter; for, besides the palsy, which for eight years together disenabled him from riding, walking, or turning himself in his bed, he fell into a most devouring and insatiable bulimy.*

As soon as he approached the stake, he fell flat on the ground, intending there to pour forth his private prayers (for he was not permitted to do it publicly) unto almighty God: but Woodroffe the sheriff commanded him to arise and dispatch, for that the people increased and pressed upon him. Whereat eftsoon he got up, and, when he had embraced the stake and kissed it, he put off his clothes, which he entreated might be given to his servant, because he had nothing else to leave him. Being tied to the stake, he

* [A disease the chief symptom of which is a painfully voracious, "ox"-like appetite.—Ed.]

comforted the stripling that was burned with him, and earnestly exhorted the people to repentance: which so enraged the sheriff that (which was not usual) he commanded his hands should be tied. His last audible words were those of our Saviour: "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth to salvation, and few there be that find it." He endured the flame as a fresh gale of wind in a hot summer's day, without any reluctancy; confirming by his death the truth of that doctrine which he had so diligently and powerfully preached during his life; which ended, July the first, 1556, in the prime, though in what year of his age is not certainly known.

He was, for his stature, tall, but slender; of a faintish sanguine complexion, his hair and beard auburn; his countenance was full of sweetness mixed with reverence and austerity. He spent the whole time of his imprisonment in reading, preaching, and praying; eating but once every day, and that but sparingly; scarcely ever rising from that meal wherein his tears did not largely bedew his trencher. He slept not (commonly) above four hours a night: from the time he went to bed, till dead sleep locked up his senses, his candle went not out, nor his book out of his hand. Half-an-hour he spent usually after dinner in discourse, which was all the recreation he used; the rest of his time, in his own private devotions and studies. His death was generally lamented by all who knew or but heard of him. Yea, many Papists themselves, being convicted with his innocency of his life, or taken with the quickness and modesty of his answers, but especially considering the implacable malice and cruelty of his enemies, heartily wished his deliverance. For all men observed how they had

first committed him without law, and then after a year's imprisonment made one to take away his life. He denied indeed the pope's authority over the church of England; and so had his judges done but the year before. And for Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament, (which was the article whereupon they chiefly condemned him,) he never denied it in the worthy receiver, *as to the eye of faith*; and no man yet, whether Papist or Protestant, could ever discover it, through the accidents of bread and wine, by the eye of the body. We are informed by Master Foxe, that he wrote many comfortable treatises, especially during his imprisonment, of which these only have had the fortune to reach our times:—

1. Two Sermons: the first, of Repentance; the second, of the Lord's Supper. 2. Some Letters to his fellow Martyrs. 3. An Answer to two Letters, desiring to know whether one might go to Mass or not. 4. The Danger ensuing the Hearing of Mass. 5. His Examination before the Officers. 6. Godly Meditations made in Prison, called his Short Prayers. 7. Truth's Complaints. 8. Melancthon translated, Of Prayers.

See how undaunted Bradford hath display'd
Truth's golden colours; nothing could invade
His heaven-fill'd thoughts, but Heaven, in whose just cause
He lived, though murder'd by Papistic laws.
Religion told him that his cause was good;
He need not fear to sign it with his blood,
And seal it with his heart: Bradford agreed
To sign, whilst Heaven was witness to the deed.
Insulting Papists, what can ye declare,
But this?—your foulness made our Bradford fair:





NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

Your fire refined his heart, and made it prove
A perfect lover of the God of love.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

Another Paul—otherwise in divers respects, save that we find not that he ever persecuted the flock or faith of Christ—may this choice instrument of God, Nicholas Ridley, be not unfitly nor unworthily styled. For he was for a long time a maintainer and practiser of Popish superstitions; which his adversaries also twitting him with in the time of his troubles, he denied not, but freely confessed; yet withal professing, that he had since that time repented him thereof, and God, he trusted, had in mercy pardoned, upon his repentance, what in ignorance he then did. But after it pleased God to reveal His truth to him more clearly, he laboured as earnestly as any of his fellow labourers in the propagation of it, being endowed with as eminent parts as any of them for that purpose; and at length sealed it up, as did some others of them also, with his blood.

He was born in Northumberland, as some say, or, as others, in the bishopric of Durham, descended of a worshipful family bearing that name, and trained up in the first rudiments of literature in the grammar school at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; which town, situate upon that river, which divideth those two counties, though standing within Northumberland, is by a bridge joined unto the bishopric of Durham. From

the school there he was first transplanted into the University of Cambridge; and from thence, as it seems, removed upon some occasions to Oxford; for that learned and industrious bishop,* who hath compiled a Catalogue of our English Prelates, doth of his certain knowledge assure us, that he was sometime Fellow of University College there. Those of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, among whom he was first placed, could not, it seems, well be without him, or he without them; with whom if he continued not at first, yet he returned shortly again to them,—whether of his own accord, or invited by them, doth not appear. But certain it is that he was head of that house, and there took his degree of Doctor in Divinity. Before which, or after, I cannot certainly say, being desirous to see what schools of learning are abroad, and to try if better means for the improving of himself and his excellent parts elsewhere be found, he left these parts for a time, and visited the University of Paris, being the prime place of note for school divinity in those days. But there he made no long stay, not finding peradventure what he looked for; but returned again to his own country and his former place of abode.

Upon his return, or not long after, especial notice being taken of him, as his good parts well deserved, he was called to be chaplain unto King Henry VIII.; and was in process of time preferred to the bishopric of Rochester, becoming vacant by the translation of Henry Holbeach thence to Lincoln. Concerning which his preferment I find different relations; for Mr. Foxe in his Martyrology affirms that he was by and under King Henry promoted to that see;

* [Francis Godwin, bishop of Llandaff, and subsequently of Hereford.—Ed.]

whereas the forementioned compiler of the Catalogue of Bishops (who seems to have followed the authentic records) referreth both the removal of Holbeach, and the advancement of Ridley, his successor, to the first of King Edward, in the year of our Lord 1547. However, in that seat he sat not long; for in the third of King Edward, upon the deprivation of Bonner, that bloody persecutor of God's people and butcherer of Christ's flock, he was translated to the bishopric of London; wherein how he bemeaned himself, shall hereafter be related.

Before these his latter times, having long walked in the dark, he came at length to see better and clearer light, in the points then questioned, especially concerning the blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood:—first, by reading that worthy and (for these times especially) learned work of Bertram, written long since of that argument; which is to this day such a mote in the Papists' eyes that they know not well how to handle it, or which way to dispose of it, though they wish it out of the world, not out of their eyes only, as appeareth by their long dispute about it in their *Index Expurgatorius*:—and afterward by conference with Cranmer and Peter Martyr, two other of Christ's champions, who confirmed him in the same:—and lastly, as himself, solemnly calling God to witness, seriously protested, upon due inquiry and diligent examination; finding the doctrine he after that maintained to be not only grounded upon God's word, but agreeable also to the writings of the ancient fathers.

Nor was he less zealous and forward in the profession and propagation of the truth and faith of Christ once known and embraced, than ever he had been in

any erroneous or superstitious way before, and careful by a godly religious course of life to adorn it in himself, and commend it to others. For, being passing well learned, (which his adversaries themselves neither do nor dare deny,) of great reading, and endued with dexterity of wit, strength of memory, and a very graceful elocution; he employed diligently these his talents to his Master's behoof, for the instructing and winning of as many to God as he might. And to this purpose, following the apostle's instructions to Timothy, to preach the word instantly and constantly, "in season and out of season," he suffered no Lord's Day lightly, nor other festival, to pass over his head, but that he preached on it in some place or other; unless some other very weighty and urgent occasion (which, unless such indeed, he gave not way to) cast a rub in his way. With his sermons the better sort of people were so taken, that they swarmed about him like bees, allured by the swee flowers and pleasant juice of that wholesome doctrine which was in them by him in a very plausible, and yet no less powerful and profitable, manner delivered.

Besides that, for his own family, while he resided at Fulham, his manner was to read to them every day, at the time of morning prayer, a lecture out of the New Testament; which he constantly performed, beginning with the Acts of the Apostles, and so going on through all St. Paul's Epistles. To those of his family he used also to read over the hundred and first Psalm; thereby to admonish them what they ought to be, and what he expected from them, should they continue in his service. On such of them as could read, he bestowed Testaments; hiring them also with rewards to get some principal chap-

ters thereof by heart, and especially that of Acts the thirteenth. By this his care came his house to be so well ordered, that it seemed a school or nursery of virtue, and pattern of piety and good life unto others, as himself also was to it.

For he was a man of so holy, just, sober, continent, and life generally unblamable, that his most malicious and mischievous adversaries could find nothing therein to tax him withal, though challenged solemnly so to do. His very outward making promised a well composed inside; for he was a very comely person, and of well proportioned limbs and lineaments. Nor did his outside deceive those that then conjectured well of him; it pleasing God eft even outwardly to imprint in the face and frame of his body a living portraiture of those endowments wherewith the inner man He hath adorned. Yea, what his looks testified, his life gave witness to, wherein all manner of sound piety and true virtue did most illustriously shine forth.

For matter of piety, he was much addicted to contemplation and prayer, wherein his common and constant course (if not otherwise interrupted) was this: so soon as he was up in the morning, (nor was he any sluggard; a little sleep served him,) and his apparel once on, he retired himself again to his bedchamber, and there on his knees he spent some half-an-hour in prayer. That done, he betook himself to his study, where he continued till ten of the clock, at which time he came to the common prayer, which was used daily in his house. After that he dined, feeding temperately, not using much talk at table, but that he used sober, grave, wise, and discreet, sometimes also not unpleasant, if occasion were. After dinner

(which he sat not long at) he spent about an hour usually either in conference with others, or in a game or two at chess, the only recreation he made use of for the refreshing of himself. Then he returned again to his study, where he sat, unless suitors or some other affairs knocked him off, until five of the clock, his constant hour for the afternoon common prayer. That finished, he supped; and after supper having passed over about an hour before, he returned the third time to his study, continuing there until eleven of the clock at night, his usual bed hour; which yet he went not to before he had spent some time, as in the morning, in private prayer by himself. Thus used he to make his religious addresses unto God, both as a key to open the door in the morning to his daily employments, and as a bolt to shut and close them up all at evening again.

For his other virtues, he was a man of a very patient spirit; which Solomon pronounceth a principal point and part, not of wisdom only, but of true valour and honour; though zealous in God's cause, when occasion was, yet in his own very moderate and temperate, taking all things in good part; nor retaining rancour against any, but very prone and ready to forgive and forget wrongs, and those no small ones, and offered by those at whose hands he had deserved better usage.

To his kindred very kind, as nature itself required; but without partiality or preposterous affection to all, his brother and sister not excepted; not bearing with them in aught not agreeable to right; but giving them this general rule, that if they did evil, they should look for nothing at his hands, but they should be as mere strangers and aliens to him;

and those in their stead as his brother and sister, that carried themselves honestly and followed a godly course of life. Nor was his kind carriage such to them alone, but so lovingly and courteously demeaned he himself to his people, that never was any good child more dearly beloved of its natural parents, nor gentle and kind parents of their natural children, than he was of his flock, and those both of his diocess, and others that had occasion to know him, and take notice of his kind disposition and demeanour: that which extended itself even to those also of the other side, who for his religion brooked him not; yea, to the near kindred and friends of those that for the same most maligned him. For not by rage and harshness, but with much mildness and gentleness, he laboured to reduce such as remained obstinate Papists, seeking by kind carriage rather to woo and win them, if it might be, than by harsh courses and rough dealing either to force them or to exasperate them, and so make them the more obstinate.

This appeared—among other instances, whereof many might be given—in that friendly usage of Bishop Heath; who continued for a twelvemonth as prisoner in his house; *as prisoner*, I may well say, rather than prisoner indeed; and yet not a prisoner neither, for he could not have enjoyed more liberty, or better respect and attendance, than he found and had there, had he been a free man in his own [house].

But above others in this kind most remarkable, (which I shall therefore add only, letting pass all others,) and the more remarkable because so far otherwise relatiated, is this that ensueth. Being in Bonner's room created bishop of London, so oft and so long as he made his abode at Fulham, he made

the mother of the said Bonner (whom he used also to call his mother, and indeed used her as if she had been his own natural mother) his daily guest constantly at meat and meal, dinner and supper, (which bounty and courtesy he afforded oft also to one Mistress Mungey, Bonner's sister, and her daughter,) placing her continually in a chair at the upper end of the table; nor suffering her to be displaced, whatsoever guests he had else at board, albeit they were noblemen or of his majesty's Privy Council, as oft it fell out; in way of excuse telling them, that by their lordships' favour that place of right and custom was for his mother Bonner. But how this his kindness was by Bonner and others after requited, in his and their carriage both to this man of courtesy himself, and to another of his near kindred, the sequel will in part show; and those that list further to see, may take notice from Master Foxe's relations, in that his laborious and useful work of "Acts and Monuments," that sticketh so much in Popish stomachs; though it be not fraught with such ridiculous legends and notorious lies, as De Voragine, Usuardus, and some others of theirs are.

In these works and exercises of piety, charity, pity, mercy, and Christian clemency, did this worthy prelate pass his time, during the short, over-short reign of King Edward, working the harder in Christ's vineyard the later he came unto it. But the wheel being turned, upon the decease of that almost matchless prince of his years, as well for piety as other excellent parts; shortly after the entrance of Queen Mary,—the rather for a sermon which, by the Council's appointment, he had formerly made against her, and in favour of the Lady Jane,—he was, with the

first of those that suffered, clapt up in prison, and deprived of his bishopric, and Bonner re-invested in it. After repairing to Framlingham, where the queen then abode, he was from thence on a lame halting jade sent up to the Tower at London; where, during the time of his restraint, some conference he had with Feckenham and others about Christ's presence in the sacrament. But from thence, not long after, by the queen's appointment, he was, together with Cranmer and Latimer, his fellow prisoners, conveyed first to Windsor, and then sent to Oxford; where they were laid in the common gaol, commonly called "Bocardo:" whereupon in one of his letters he saith merrily, that Bocardo was now become a college of *quondams;* that is, such as had once been bishops, but then were not.

After that they had been detained some space of time there, down came a commission for a disputation to be held between the said three prisoners, Christ's champions, but apart, on the one part, and certain doctors and divines of either university, thereunto designed, on the other part. Whereupon they were severed one from another, that they might not have any help either from other; and Bishop Ridley was committed to the house of one Irish, then mayor of the city. Whence being convented,* as the other two also were, before certain commissioners, he had certain articles tendered him to subscribe unto, concerning the real presence of Christ's natural body and blood, and the utter abolition of the substance of bread and wine, in the sacrament of the eucharist; and concerning the mass, as containing in it a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and dead: which refus-

* [Summoned, called to appear.—Ed.]

ing to subscribe to, and affirming them to be false, and such as sprung from a sour and bitter root, he was willing to deliver in writing his mind of them the night following. And being withal demanded, whether he were willing to dispute of them or no, he made answer very roundly, that so long as God gave him life, he should have, not his heart only, but his tongue and his pen to defend His truth; but required, as was meet and equal, to have time and books. Howbeit, no further respite could be obtained than to write his mind against the next day, and to prepare for disputation against Tuesday following, it being then Saturday at even: mean space, it was told him, he should have what books he pleased, but could not be suffered to have any of his own books or notes.

Howbeit, notwithstanding all disadvantages, neither few nor small, and the dispute itself most partially and tumultuously carried, many baiting him at once, interrupting him ever [and] anon in his speeches and answers, reviling and railing instead of reasoning and arguing, and inciting the rude multitude to hiss and clap their hands at him; how well and worthily he quitted himself in the same, may to any indifferently and unpartially affected appear by the Acts of it, so much as for clamour and confusion could be taken of it, yet extant. It is no unfitting censure, that a reverend prelate gives of the three disputants, that Cranmer answered very learnedly and gravely; Ridley, very readily and acutely; Latimer, merrily and yet solidly, beyond the expectation of his age. Yet, if taking somewhat from his sentence concerning either of the other, not as denied unto them, but imparted and applied unto him, I should say, that he answered very readily and learnedly,

acutely and yet solidly, I should neither wrong them at all, and do him but right; for he was a man of sharp wit, a sound judgment, a strong memory, well versed in school learning; and indeed seemed to have been one of the learnedest of those that then maintained Christ's cause against the malicious enemies and oppugners of the maintainers of it, and of it in them:—that which themselves were not ignorant of, but in a manner acknowledged, when they openly gave out in their examination of him, that Latimer leaned to Cranmer, and Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit; whom therefore if they could prevail against, they hoped to have removed a principal prop, that the other party relied upon. But they were herein deceived, both he and they being both built upon a firmer and sounder foundation than they were able to undermine, much less to blow up.

After this disputation thus had for a show, that they might seem to have done somewhat, for the satisfaction of such as had little need of any, save that they would have somewhat to say for themselves, and their own turning from the truth, and against those that stuck to it, and stood in the defence of it; on the Friday following, together with the other two his copartners therein, he was again convented before the commissioners, and, upon refusal to recant, being condemned for a heretic, was returned to the mayor's house, where he was more strictly kept and restrained than either of the other two in the places of their restraint:—that which he imputeth most to the wayward and superstitious disposition of his keeper's wife, being a woman, as naturally very waspish, so withal extremely Popish, and persuaded

therefore that she pleased God the better, the worse she dealt with such a one as she deemed him to be. Her husband, otherwise a man mildly disposed, yet durst not do what he otherwise desired, over-awed either by his wife, who ruled him as he the town, or else by authority and charge from the commissioners; whose power there was so dreadful, that not one of the university had the courage to repair to the prisoners, even then when access was more free.

But all the strict and hard usage showed him, he endured with much patience, comfort, contentment, and cheerfulness, as by his letters then written may evidently appear. In the custody of this Irish he abode from the time of the disputation in April, *anno* 1554, unto the thirtieth of September, 1555: at which time being again convented, together with these two other before-mentioned, before some other commissioners authorized by Cardinal Pole, the pope's legate, and having stood uncovered in their presence, till he heard the legate and the pope named, he then put on his cap, professing withal that he so did, not in derogation any way from the person and worth of the cardinal, whom he honoured and reverenced as one of the blood royal, and as a personage endued with excellent parts both of learning and virtue; but in regard of his legateship and deputation for the pope, whose usurped supremacy and abused authority he refused and renounced, and thereby defied the same. But his cap being taken from him, after some dispute about the see of Rome and the pope's power, there were certain articles propounded to him, much [the same] in effect with those that had formerly been disputed of, concerning the sacrament of eucharist, and the sacrifice of the

mass; unto which he was required to give in answer the next day by eight of clock in the morning, having pen, ink, and paper, with such books as he pleased to require for the accomplishment of the same. But withal they required from him an answer by word of mouth at present; who thereupon told them that he presumed of their gentleness, that they would have given him time, as they had before said, until the morrow, that upon good advisement he might make a determinate answer. And they replying, that his answer then should not be prejudicial to aught that he should after give in, but he should have liberty to add, detract, alter, and change what he pleased; he, though withal challenging them with former breach of promise concerning the disputation, that he should have a copy of what was there done, see what the notaries had taken, have liberty within a certain time to alter what he would in his answers, or to add thereunto,—whereof no part was performed; yet condescended to answer by word of mouth at present; and so did according to that which formerly he had done, maintaining dispute with them about the same for some good space of time, until he was committed again to the mayor; and Master Latimer called in to be baited by them, as he had been.

The next day, appearing again before them, with such gesture as before, and so again entertained, he delivered up his answer in writing, concerning a protestation against their authority and jurisdiction as delegated and derived from the pope, and his judgment concerning the articles exhibited, explained and confirmed, not by Scripture alone, but by the testimonies also of the fathers; which he required to have read, but could not obtain it, save a line or two

here and there as they pleased: they affirming that it contained words of blasphemy; and he averring that, a line or two excepted, there was nothing in it but the sayings of the ancient doctors, confirming his assertions. Hardly could he have leave to utter a few words, and that not without oft interruption, and with telling on their fingers' ends how many words he had spoken. At length they excommunicated him with the greater excommunication; and, having passed sentence of condemnation against him, turned him over to the secular power.

On the fifteenth day of the same month he was by Brook, bishop of Gloucester, assisted by some other, degraded; at which time he requested the said bishop to second his petition to the queen, that such tenants as he had made leases to, while he was possessed of the bishopric of London, and his sister among the rest, might quietly enjoy the same. This he promised to do, acknowledging it to be agreeable to equity and right; but it seems it could not be obtained; for that cruel bloodsucker, whose mother and sister he had so kindly dealt with, thrust his sister and her husband, against all law and conscience, out of the keeping of a park, which he had conferred upon them; nor is it likely that the rest fared much better than they did.

The day following he suffered together with Master Latimer; who much strengthened him, as by conference before, so at the stake then. The evening before he suffered he washed his beard and his feet, and bade those at board that supped with him to his wedding the next day; demanded of his brother, Master Shipside, whether he thought his sister, his wife, could find in her heart to be there; and he an-

swering that he durst say she would with all her heart, he professed to be thereof very glad. At supper time he was very cheerful and merry, desiring those there present that wept (of which number Mrs. Irish, his hostess, though a blind and eager Papist, was one) to quiet themselves; affirming that though his breakfast was like to be somewhat sharp and painful, yet his supper he was sure should be pleasant and sweet. His brother offered to watch all night with him: but he refused it; telling him, that he intended to go to bed, hoping to sleep as quietly that night as ever he did in his life.

So on the next day, being the sixteenth of October, this meek sheep of Christ, and yet a stout bell-wether of his flock, faithful and constant to his blessed Shepherd and sovereign Owner unto death, yea, unto pains and torments worse than death, was, together with his copartner, both in defence of the faith, and of afflictions for the defence of it, brought out to the place of their martyrdom, in a ditch, or low parcel of ground, lying on the north side of the city behind Balliol College; where Dr. Smith, who had before in King Edward's time recanted, instead of a sermon, made a bitter invective against them: which they offered to answer; but when they could not be permitted to speak, they committed their cause to God, commended their souls into his hands, and with much readiness and resolution yielded their bodies to the merciless flames, and such cruel torments therein as other their brethren and fellow witnesses of Christ had before them undergone. Wherein this our worthy and valiant spiritual champion, through the indiscretion of those that composed the pile, and managed the fuel about him, hindering

there where they thought to help, and lengthening his torments by those means whereby they hoped to have shortened them, endured a long time in grievous pains, to the heart grief of the beholders, burning in a manner by piecemeal; till at length, having passed this fiery trial, his soul was as in a flaming chariot, with Elias, carried up into the highest heaven. Some works of his, though not many, remain.

1. A Protestation or Determination delivered in the Schools at a Disputation in King Edward's Days. 2. His Disputations at Oxford in Queen Mary's Time. 3. An Assertion of the true Faith concerning the Lord's Supper against Transubstantiation, translated after into Latin, and printed at Geneva. 4. A Treatise concerning the right Form of Administration of the Lord's Supper. 5. A Treatise against Setting up and Adoring of Images. 6. A Conference between him and Master Latimer in Prison. 7. A large Farewell to his faithful Friends; together with a sharp Admonition to obstinate Papists. 8. Another Farewell to the imprisoned and exiled for the Gospel. 9. A Treatise containing a Lamentation for the Change of Religion, and a Comparison of the Romish Doctrine with that of the Gospel. 10. Divers pious Letters written to divers Persons.

Read in the progress of this blessed story
Rome's cursed cruelty, and Ridley's glory.
Rome's sirens sung, but Ridley's careless ear
Was deaf: they charm'd; but Ridley would not hear.
Rome sung preferment; but brave Ridley's tongue
Condemn'd that false preferment which Rome sung.
Rome whispered wealth; but Ridley (whose great gain
Was godliness) he waved it with disdain.





PETER MARTYR.

Rome threaten'd durance; but great Ridley's mind
Was too, too strong for threats or chains to bind.
Rome thunder'd death; but Ridley's dauntless eye
Stared in Death's face, and scorn'd Death standing by.
In spite of Rome, for England's faith he stood,
And in the flames he seal'd it with his blood.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF PETER MARTYR.

THE year from Christ's birth 1500 is for many matters of much moment very remarkable. Among others for the jubilee that Pope Alexander VI. (whose hellish life and dismal end the stories of those times relate) held that year at Rome; and the terrible tempest that ensued the same, wherein the angel that stood on the top of the pope's church was overthrown; and the pope's own chamber, by the fall of a tunnel, so beaten down upon him, that divers of those were slain that attended then upon him, and he himself so buried in the rubbish that he was hardly got out alive. The same year (amidst this height of Popish imposture, together with these direful presages of his downfall) was born to Philip, king of Spain, his son Charles, after emperor, the first of that name, under whom the Gospel (though much against his will) gained good footing in Germany. And the same year also came into this world that famous scholar and divine, Peter Martyr Vermily; one that much furthered the advancement thereof, as well in those parts as elsewhere. He

came of that ancient and worshipful family of Vermily; born at Florence in Italy; Stephen Vermily his father, and Mary Fumantine his mother.

His name was given him by his parents from one Peter of Milan, a martyr, reported to have been slain sometime by the Arian faction, whose church stood near unto their house.

This Peter Martyr, being the only son of his parents that attained to any years, was by them carefully trained up in good literature from a child; his mother herself (a pretty scholar) reading Terence to him in Latin. After which domestic discipline he he was turned over, for further institution, to Marcellus Virgilius, then town clerk or secretary of state to that city; a man of much learning, as may appear by his edition and translation of Dioscorides, with his commentaries thereupon. He was willing to take pains, notwithstanding his employments in the state otherwise, with many young gentlemen's sons; whereof divers also proved famous for their learning and learned writings; and this our Martyr among the rest, who, albeit he surmounted the most of his fellow-students in sharpness and readiness of wit to apprehend, and strength of memory to retain what was taught, joined with an insatiable ardour and unweariable endeavour of continual either hearing or reading, and a measure of proficiency much more than ordinary, proceeding necessarily from the same; yet such was his modesty and amiable demeanour that he drew to him the affections of all his consorts, and there grew no emulation between him and them.

Being now grown up to riper years, and affecting such courses as might both further his studies, and keep him within compass, he grew into liking of a

monkish life; and because the regular canons of St. Augustine's order were at that time in greatest fame throughout all Italy for the study of divinity and for severity of discipline, he betook himself to their society; and, being sixteen years old, was admitted into the Fesulan College near to Florence. Which fact of his was not greatly pleasing to his father, whether in regard of some dislike of the profession itself, or because he desired by him the propagation of his family; and, disposing therefore at his decease his main estate to an hospital, he left his son only out of it a small yearly pension. Howbeit, his sister, his parents' only daughter, liked so well of it that she followed him therein, and became a veiled nun.

In that college, wherein the younger sort were trained up for the most part in the rules of rhetoric and the reading of Scripture, which they used to get by heart, having passed over three years with great good-liking of the whole society, he was from thence sent over to the University of Padua, and there entered into the monastery of St. John of Verdera; whereof, albeit, a man not unlearned himself, and a lover of learning in others, was abbot. There he gave himself to the study of philosophy, frequenting the lectures of divers of prime note that then read the same in that university; under whom also in disputations he frequently exercised himself; so acquitting himself in the same, that the readers themselves took special notice of him; insomuch that Branda, a chief man among them, would oft call him out to dispute, styling him his Florentine, as Grynæus sometimes Arminius his Hollander.

For his better furtherance in these his studies, he spent some time in getting skill of the Greek tongue,

that he might read Aristotle in his own language: and in the study of that tongue he so profited (as one apt to take aught that he bent himself to) that in a short time he was able to read any Greek author, historian, orator, or poet, without help of a translation. And withal he so followed the study of divinity, hearing diligently and constantly those that read the same there, adjoining also his own private endeavours thereunto, that, being of six-and-twenty years, (a thing among them then not usual,) he was, by the Fellows of the college he lived in, made a public preacher, and partaker of those privileges that to such of their orders were annexed.

His first preaching was at Brixia [Brescia], in the church of Afra: after that he preached at Rome, Venice, Mantua, Montferrat, and in others the cities of Italy and the confines of France: besides that, in the college of his own society, he read both philosophy and divinity, and Homer in Greek. And hitherto having studied most school divinity, Thomas of Aquino especially, and Gregory of Rimini; he now began in more special manner to addict himself to the study of the Scriptures, and to this purpose laboured with much sedulity, using the help of one Isaak, a Jew, that professed physic, to get the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue.

His constant pains in preaching and teaching gained him that singular esteem, that he was by general consent chosen abbot of Spoleto; in which place he so wisely and worthily carried himself, that it was much admired how a man so bookish, and so much addicted to his studies, should attain such abilities for dexterity of government. For he not only reduced the college and two nunneries belonging

to it, that had been very loose and scandalous in their courses before, to a more regular and orderly demeanour; but so also, by his authority, good persuasions, and discreet ordering the matter, prevailed with two potent factions that had long disturbed the state there, that he composed their differences, and wrought concord between them; which they also continued in, so long as he continued there with them.

Three years he abode there; and at three years' end, in a solemn assembly of the whole order, he was made governor of St. Peter's at the Altar in Naples; a place of very pleasant situation, great dignity, and rich and large revenues. Here addicting himself more diligently and seriously to search into the Scriptures, the light began daily to appear more and more to him, and to discover to him the errors and superstitious conceits that he had formerly been possessed with. And now he fell to read some of our men's writings: Bucer's Commentaries upon the Psalms and the Evangelists, Zuinglius's treatise Of true and false Religion, and another Of God's Providence; with some pieces of Erasmus: whence having gained more insight into these things, he communicated therein with some others likewise piously disposed; to wit, Benedict Cusane, Anthony Flaminy, and John Valdesie a Spaniard; by whose joint endeavour a pretty church of pious people was now gathered at Naples.

Nor did this our Peter forbear publicly to preach that truth that God had now revealed unto him. For, handling the First to the Corinthians, to which his lectures, among others, divers noblemen (whom that city never wanteth) and some bishops also re-

sorted; when he came to the third chapter, the thirteenth and fourteenth verses, he affirmed that place not to be meant of purgatory; since that the fire there spoken of is such a fire as both good and bad all must pass. This seeming to shake a main pillar of purgatory, the pope's furnace, the fire whereof, like the philosopher's stone, melteth all his leaden bulls into pure gold; his under chemists, some of them, like Demetrius and his consorts, began to bestir themselves, and so wrought that from above he was inhibited to proceed in his reading. Which inhibition he yet refused to obey; and appealing to the pope, by help of some cardinals of better sort, among whom our Pole was one, and some other learned men in grace with the pope, he gat the interdict revoked. Howbeit, he continued not long his readings there afterwards; for, falling not long after into a very dangerous sickness, whereof he hardly recovered, the fathers of his order, in a general assembly, shortly after his recovery, supposing that the air of that city did not so well agree with him, made him their general visitor, when he had been yet but three years at Naples. In which employment, supported by the Cardinal Gonzaga, the protector of their order, he so carried himself, suppressing some that carried themselves tyrannously in their places, and severely chastising others that lived loosely and lewdly, that, though he gained much grace and credit to the order, and no less love and affection to himself from the better-minded among them, yet incurred he withal much envy [and] ill-will from those that were otherwise disposed.

It is a point of devilish policy too oft practised, under a semblance of honour, to prefer men to such

places as may prove prejudicial to them, and become a means of their overthrow. Some of these Machiavelians, therefore, in a general meeting of the fathers of the order at Mantua, knowing a deadly feud and inveterate hatred to intercede between the inhabitants of Lucca, and those of Florence our Martyr's country, move to have him made prior of St. Fridian in Lucca; a place of great esteem, for that the prior of that house hath episcopal jurisdiction over the one moiety of the city; hoping that for country's sake he should there find opposition and molestation more than enough. The motion was on all hands soon assented unto; but the event answered not their expectation; for, by his wise, kind, and discreet carriage among them, he gained so much good-will and esteem with them, that they affected him no otherwise than as if he had been a native, and by a solemn embassage made suit to the principal of the order, that Peter Martyr might not be removed again from them.

Here, to advance both religion and learning among them, he procured learned men of great note, to read to the younger sort the tongues, one Latin, and the other Greek, and a third (which was Emmanuel Tremellius) the Hebrew. He himself daily read to them some part of St. Paul's Epistles in Greek, and examined them in the same. To the whole company before supper he expounded some Psalm; to which exercise divers learned of the nobility and gentry did also usually resort: and every Lord's Day he preached publicly to the people; by which his godly labours many attained to much knowledge, as appeared afterward by the number of those who after his departure thence sustained exilement for the

truth; among whom that famous Zanchi [was] one.

These his good proceedings his adversaries much maligning held a meeting at Genoa, and convented him thither. But he, having intelligence of their complotment, and taking warning by their late dealings with a godly eremite [hermit] of the same order, resolved to decline them, and to betake himself to some place of better safety. Having therefore committed to his deputy the charge of the monastery, and his library (his only wealth) to a trusty friend in Lucca, to be sent after him into Germany, he left the city secretly, and from thence travelled first toward his own country to Pisa; where meeting with certain religious noblemen, he celebrated together with them the Lord's Supper: and from thence by letters both to Cardinal Pole, and to those of Lucca, he rendered a reason of his departure from them. After that, coming to Florence, but making no long stay there, he departed from thence for Germany; and, passing the Alps, came into Switzerland, where he arrived first at Zurich, and, passing thence to Basil, was by Bucer's procurement called over to Strasburg; where for the space of five years with much amity and agreement they joined together in the Lord's work; during which time he expounded the Lamentations of Jeremy, the twelve lesser Prophets, Genesis, Exodus, and a good part of Leviticus.

Here he took him a wife, one of a religious disposition, and in all respects a meet match for one of his rank and profession, who lived with him eight years; died in England at Oxford, where she had lived in great repute with the *best* for her singular piety, and

with the *most* for her charity correspondent thereunto: though, after her decease in Queen Mary's days, her remains were inhumanly digged up again, and buried in a dunghill; but in Queen Elizabeth's days restored to their former place of sepulture again.

For, after that our Martyr had spent those five years at Strasburg, he was, through the procurement of Archbishop Cranmer, sent for by letters from King Edward into England, and made Reader of Divinity in the University of Oxford. There in his readings, to which those of the Popish faction also resorted, he expounded the First of St. Paul to the Corinthians; and though much envying and stomaching him, yet with some patience they, his Popish hearers, endured him, until he came to handle the doctrine of the Lord's Supper; but then they began to break forth into some outrage, to disturb him in his lectures, to set up malicious and scandalous schedules against him, to challenge him to disputes; which he waved not, but maintained, first in private in Dr. Cox the vice-chancellor's house, and after in public before his majesty's commissioners deputed to that purpose; where with what strength of argument and authority of Scripture he convinced his antagonists, the Acts yet extant may evidently show. This way little prevailing, they stirred up the seditious multitude against him, by reason whereof he was compelled to retire him to London, until that tumult was suppressed. Then returning again, for his better security, the king made him a canon of Christ's Church; by means whereof he had convenient housing within the college, with more safety.

Thus settled the second time, he proceeded in his wonted employment, opening now also the Epistle of

St. Paul to the Romans; and being in times of vacation called up to London by the archbishop for his aid and advice in ecclesiastical affairs, and in composing of ordinances for the government of the church. And in this course he continued, being never out of action, until, by the decease of that our English Phœnix, [Edward VI.,] so much admired in his life, and bewailed at his death, not with ours at home, but by others also, and that of a diverse religion, abroad, upon the succession of his sister, Queen Mary, one of a contrary disposition, his employment surceased, and with somewhat ado he gat liberty and departed the land. And though being waylaid (which he had notice of) both on this side and beyond the seas, yet (by God's good providence and protection) he passed unknown and undiscovered through Brabant and other Popish territories, and gat in safety to Strasburg.

Thither returning he was received with the greater joy in regard of the dangers he had passed and escaped; and was restored to his professor's place again. Therein being resettled, he read upon the Book of Judges; and because the senate required that the readers of divinity should withal at certain times read lectures also of philosophy, it was agreed between him and Zanchi, his fellow professor, that the one of them should read moral philosophy, which fell to his lot, and the other natural, which Zanchi undertook.

Howbeit, here he was not long quiet; for some factious ones began to complain of him to the magistrates, as not concurring with the Augustine [Augsburg] Confession in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper: wherein, albeit he gave those in authority good

satisfaction, yet he perceived much heart-burning in other-some, and that manifested oft-times as well by scandalous libels scattered abroad, as also by open opposition. Whereupon supposing that he should not live quietly there, and do the good that he desired, he began to entertain thoughts of departure; and, as God in His holy providence pleased to dispose it, a fit and fair occasion thereof offered itself to him. For they at Zurich, (whereat first he desired to have settled,) wanting one to succeed Pellican, lately deceased, in the divinity lecture, invite Peter Martyr to come over to them, and supply that place. Thither he came, (though with much grief and unwillingness dismissed by the magistrates and other godly of Strasburg, his fellow professors especially,) accompanied with our worthy Jewel, after bishop of Salisbury, then exile in those parts, who ever entirely affected and reverenced him as his father.

At Zurich with much gratulation was he most lovingly and respectfully received by the magistrates, ministers, Bullinger especially, and the main body of the people; and, notwithstanding an order before made to the contrary, denying such admittance for some years, unto any, enrolled instantly for a free denizen. There he taught about seven years, expounding the Books of Samuel, and a good part of the Kings; and writing divers polemical discourses against the adversaries of the truth. Nor would he remove thence, albeit he were with much importunity invited to other places, where the means were larger;—as first to Geneva, upon the decease of that every way noble Count Maximilian Celsus, pastor of the Italian church there; and after, in Queen Elizabeth's days, when religion was again

here settled, Bishop Jewel labouring with him in it, to return into these parts;—but continued teaching there till he died. Howbeit, being earnestly required by letters as well from the queen mother of France, the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and other peers of that realm, as also from Beza and the rest of the ministers of the Reformed churches in those parts, he obtained leave of the senate to go over into France to the solemn conference at Poissy; where how wisely and worthily he demeaned himself, by the Acts of it may appear.

Not long after his access to Zurich, desirous to continue the race and name of the Vermilii, he took him a second wife, a virgin of good note and name, commended to him from the Italian church at Geneva, where she lived an exile for religion; by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter, who died both very young, before him; and left her great with a third, that proved a daughter.

He departed this life quietly, after some seven days' sickness, sitting in his chair, in the presence of his wife and religious friends, on the twelfth day of November in the year of grace 1562, and of his own age the sixty-third.

He was of an able, healthy, big-boned, and well-limbed body; of a countenance expressing an inward grave and settled disposition; of extraordinary parts of learning, as well for humanity as for divinity; excellent for disputation; much admired, wheresoever he came, for his discreet and moderate, though constant and incorrupt, carriage; never seen in heat of dispute to break forth into choler; very painful and industrious, endeavouring to do all the good he could for God's church, either in the places where he was

resiant [resident], or elsewhere. Nor may be omitted here the speech used of him to those of Zurich, by that learned man, Josias Simler, that made the funeral oration at his burial, and hath described his life at large:—that another they might have in Martyr's room; but another Martyr they should not have. But what he was, and how laborious, his works extant (besides many other never published) will soon show; which are these:—

1. A Catechism or Exposition of the Creed, in Italian. 2. A Prayer-Book composed out of the Psalms. 3. His Commentaries upon Genesis. 4. His Commentaries upon the Book of Judges. 5. His Commentaries upon the two Books of Samuel. 6. His Commentaries upon the First Book of Kings, and eleven Chapters of the Second. 7. His Commentaries upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. 8. His Commentaries upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians. 9. His Disputations at Oxford, about the Lord's Supper. 10. His Defence about the orthodox Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, against Stephen Gardiner. 11. An Abridgment of the said Defence made by him afterward. 12. His Confession exhibited to the Senate of Strasburg, concerning the Supper of the Lord. 13. His Judgment concerning the Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament, delivered at the Conference of Poissy. 14. A Discourse concerning the Mass. 15. A Dialogue concerning the Place of Christ's Body, against the Ubiquitaries. 16. His Refutation of Richard Smith's two Books, concerning Single Life and Monkish Vows. 17. In his Commentaries on the first and second Books of Aristotle's Ethics, and part of the third. 18. His Common-Places, gathered out of his

Commentaries by others, and digested into Heads. 19. Certain Treatises of Free Will, God's Providence, Predestination, and the Cause of Sin. 20. Propositions, some necessary, some probable, out of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Judges; together with Solutions of a Question or two concerning some Mosaical Laws and Oaths. 21. Divers Sermons and Orations of several Subjects, and made upon several Occasions. 22. His Letters to sundry Persons, concerning much Variety of useful Discourse.

Behold this star, which seem'd at the first view
Eclipsed with Romish fogs; but, after, grew
So bright, that his refulgence did display
Truth's banner, beaming like the sun of day.
His sunshine was not visible alone
In true religion's reform'd horizon,
But cast his foreign influence as far
As the arctic's distant from the antarctic star.
Vex'd Rome's ingenious malice did compact
To quench this flame, but failed in the act.
The seven-crown'd dragon's star-confronting train
Lash'd at this star, but lash'd and lash'd in vain.
Thus he remains (sustain'd by higher powers)
A saint in heaven's bright orb, a star in ours.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF HUGH LATIMER.

Hugh Latimer, born at Thirkesson [Thurcaston] in the county of Leicester, being of a prompt and sharp wit, was by his parents brought up in learning;



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and at the age of fourteen he went to Cambridge; where after he had profited in other studies, he gave himself to the study of school divinity; commenced Bachelor in Divinity, and was a very zealous Papist; made an oration against Philip Melancthon; railed against Master Stafford, divinity lecturer, and willed the scholars in no wise to believe him. He carried the cross before the procession. Master Bilney, seeing and pitying his blind zeal, came to his study, and desired him to hear him make a confession of his faith; which Latimer consenting to, was so touched thereby that he gave over school divinity, and studied more orthodox divines. He used often to confer with Master Bilney, and asked Master Stafford forgiveness before he died. He became a powerful preacher, and instructed many in private also; whereupon the devil raised up many doctors and friars against him, and the bishop of Ely forbad him to preach, *anno Christi* 1529: yet he continued three years preaching with much applause; yea, the bishop himself, hearing him upon a time, commended him, and wished that he had the like gifts himself. He used often to visit the prisoners, to relieve the needy, and feed the hungry.

He was afterwards sent for to the court, and employed in the business about King Henry's divorce. Then by the king he had a benefice given him at West Kingston, near Sarum, where with much diligence he instructed his flock: whereupon some Popish priests drew up articles against him; and he was much molested by the bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury; out of whose hands the king rescued him, and at the request of the Lord Cromwell made him bishop of Worcester; where also

he busily employed himself in instructing his flock, and giving them a good example by his holy life. Yet neither there was he quiet; for one of great place accused him to the king for preaching sedition; but the king rested satisfied with his answer. At New Year's tide the bishops used to present the king with a New Year's gift; and Bishop Latimer, amongst the rest, presented him with a New Testament, wrapped up in a napkin, with this posy about it: *Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus:* "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." But the Six Articles coming out, and he seeing that he could not retain his office with a good conscience, of his own accord he resigned his bishopric: and when he put off his rochet in his chamber amongst his friends, he gave a skip on the floor for joy, feeling his shoulders lighter, and being (as he said) discharged of so heavy a burden.

Yet neither then would the bishops suffer him to be quiet, till he was laid up in the Tower, where he remained till Edward VI.'s reign; at which time being restored to his liberty, he continued a faithful and painful preacher all that king's days; preaching twice every Sabbath, though sixty-seven years of age. He rose to his study winter and summer at two o'clock in the morning. He evidently foresaw, and foretold, all those plagues which England afterwards felt under Queen Mary; and foretold concerning himself, that his preaching of the Gospel would cost him his life; and that Winchester, Stephen [Gardiner], was kept in the Tower for the same purpose; which afterwards proved so.

In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign he was sent for up by a pursuivant; whereof he had notice

six hours before he came to his house: yet, instead of flying, he prepared himself for his journey; and when the pursuivant came, he said to him, "My friend, you are welcome. I go as willingly to London, to give an account of my faith, as ever I went to any place in the world." The pursuivant, having delivered his letter, told him that he was commanded not to stay for him, and so immediately departed: but Latimer hasted after to London; and, as he rode through Smithfield, he said, that Smithfield had groaned for him a long time.

Coming before the council, after many mocks and scorns, he was sent to the Tower, where the Lord gave him such a valiant spirit, that he did not only bear the terribleness of imprisonment, but derided and laughed to scorn the doings of his enemies. This aged father being kept in the cold winter without a fire, he bade the lieutenant's man to tell his master, that if he did not look better to him, perchance he would deceive him. The lieutenant, thinking that he intended to make an escape, charged him with his words: to whom he answered, "You think I should burn; but except you let me have a fire, I shall deceive your expectation; for I am here like to starve with cold."

From thence he was carried to Oxford with Cranmer and Ridley, where they spent their time in brotherly conference, fervent prayer, and faithful writing. Yea, many times he continued so long in fervent prayer, that he was not able to get up without help. Three things he more especially prayed for:— First, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of His word, so that He would give him grace to stand to His doctrine; that he might give his heart's

blood for the same: Secondly, that God of His mercy would restore His Gospel to England once again,—once again; which he often inculcated in his prayer, and that with so much ardour as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to Him face to face: Thirdly, that the Lord would preserve Queen Elizabeth, and make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England:—the Lord most graciously answering all those his requests.

When he came to the stake, he lift up his eyes with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying, *Fidelis est Deus, &c.*: "God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above that which we are able," &c. As he was burning, his blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, as if all the blood in his body had been gathered thither, to the great astonishment of the beholders; according to his former request, that he might be so happy as to shed *his heart's blood* for the truth. The other two requests we have found, and yet have the benefit. When the fire was first kindled, he cried, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul:" and so, receiving the flame, and, as it were, embracing of it, having stroked his face with his hands, and bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died with very little pain, or none at all, *anno Christi* 1555.

Though Latimer was in his heedless youth
A deviator, and abandon'd truth,
Yet (Heaven having bless'd him with a riper age)
At last he banish'd his too forward rage;
And, from a wandering comet, he became
A blazing star, and blush'd not to proclaim
Against his former errors which had spread
Upon his heart, and almost struck it dead.

He sought the way of truth, and, seeking, found
A better anchor, and a firmer ground,
Whereon he fix'd his thoughts, and would not be
Removed by arguments of tyranny.
Thus our brave Latimer became a terror
To Papists, and an enemy to error.
Though he at first most wilfully denied
The truth, yet for the truth at last he died.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN PHILPOT,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1555.

John Philpot was a knight's son, and born in Hampshire, brought up at school, and sent from thence to New College in Oxford, where he studied the liberal arts, and the tongues, and afterwards the civil law. He was of a pregnant wit and singular courage, zealous in religion, of nature apert, and far from flattery, hypocrisy, and dissimulation. From Oxford he travelled into Italy, where he was in some danger for his religion. In King Edward VI.'s days, he returned into England again, and had many conflicts with Bishop Gardiner.

He did much good in Hampshire, being archdeacon of Winchester all King Edward's days: but in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign he was cast into prison, where he lay a year and a half before he was examined. Then he was sent for by Dr. Story,

and, after some captious questions proposed to him, he was committed prisoner to the bishop of London's coal-house, unto which was adjoined a little blind-house, with a great pair of stocks, both for hand and foot: "But thanks be to God," saith he, "I have not played of those organs yet." There he found a godly minister of Essex, who, desiring to speak with him, did greatly lament his infirmity; for through extremity of imprisonment he had yielded to the bishop of London, and was set at liberty: whereupon he felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself; and could have no peace, till, going to the bishop's register, and desiring to see his recantation, he tore it in pieces: whereupon the bishop, sending for him, buffeted him, plucked off a great part of his beard, and sent him to his coal-house, where Master Philpot found him very joyful under the cross.

Philpot being afterwards sent for to the bishop, he asked him, amongst other things, why they were so merry in prison; to whom he answered, "We are in a dark comfortless place, and therefore we solace ourselves with singing of Psalms." After other discourse, saith he, "I was carried to my lord's coal-house again, where I, with my six fellow-prisoners, do rouse together in the straw, as cheerfully, we thank God, as others do in their beds of down." After sundry examinations he was by the bishop set in the stocks, in a house alone, of which he writes: "God be praised that he thought me worthy to suffer any thing for His name's sake! Better it is to sit in the stocks in this world, than to sit in the stocks of a damnable conscience."

At last he was condemned for a heretic; where-

upon he said, "I thank God I am a heretic out of your cursed church, but I am no heretic before God." Being sent to Newgate, he spake to the people as he went, saying, "Ah, good people, blessed be God for this day!" Having notice given overnight that the next day he should be burned, he said, "I am ready: God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection!" And so he went to his chamber, pouring out his spirit unto the Lord in prayer, and giving Him most hearty thanks for accounting him worthy to sufer for His truth. Going into Smithfield, the way was very foul; whereupon two officers took him up and bare him to the stake: then said he merrily, "What! will you make me a pope?" Coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down, saying, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!" He kissed the stake, saying, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, when my Lord and Saviour refused not to suffer a most vile death for me?" When the fire was kindled, with much meekness and comfort he resigned up his spirit unto God, *anno Christi* 1555.

Courageous Philpot with a dauntless brow
March'd to his death, and would not once allow
The least submittance to erroneous powers,
But scorn'd to smell on their impoison'd flowers:
And when he labour'd in the most distress,
He was most cheerful, and would still address
Himself to Heaven, where he was sure to find
A healing balsam to confirm his mind;
He pray'd to God; and having done, he cried,
"I thank, I thank Thee, Father," and so died.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THOMAS CRANMER.

Thomas Cranmer was extracted from an ancient family in Lincolnshire, as that derived itself from one of more antiquity (still retaining the said name and arms) in Normandy. Of his infancy and childhood we can give no other acconnt than what is common to others of the same age, as not capable of any extraordinary actions, but silently shadowed under the innocency and simplicity thereof.

Afterwards he was admitted into Jesus College in Cambridge, where he proceeded Master of Arts, with general applause for his learning and manners. Here he happened to marry the innkeeper's wife's kinswoman at the sign of the Dolphin: an act beheld by some as destructive to his future preferment, and deeply condemned by those who preferred height before holiness, and a rich and plentiful before a chaste and comfortable life.

Malicious tongues on this foundation built many foul and false scandals against him; some slandering him for to be an ostler, because of his often repairing to that inn; which causeless report (confuting itself with its own improbability) his meekness and patience overcame by contemning it. Thus worthy St. Helen, mother to Constantine the Great, was scoffed at to have been a stable-groom's daughter, for her zeal in searching the monuments of Christ's nativity in Bethlehem; of whom St. Ambrose, *Bona stabularia quæ dici maluit stercoraria, ut Christum lucrifaceret.*

But God's providence, who orders all things to the



THOMAS CRANMER.

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best, some year after took Cranmer's wife away; which loss proved a great gain unto him. For, resuming his studies, (thereby to allay his sorrow and solitariness,) he became so eminent that the Society of Jesus College chose him again into his Fellowship. Indeed, it was against the fundamental law of the university, which provides, *Nolumus socios nostros esse maritos vel maritatos:* yet, seeing a widower is the second part of a bachelor, and Cranmer's extraordinary learning a dispensation for himself, by peculiar favour he was re-elected into that house.

How excellently he behaved himself therein, one instance for many. At that time many unworthy scholars scrambled up into the highest degrees, whose scarlet gowns might seem to blush [at] the wearers' ignorance. To prevent the dangerous consequences thereof, and to render degrees more considerable for the future, Cranmer by general consent was chosen public examiner of the sufficiency of such candidates for degrees. Herein he carried himself with such remarkable moderation, neither over remiss to encourage any unworthiness to presume, nor too rigid to dishearten the endeavours of the ingenious, that it is questionable whether his carriage brought more profit to private persons, or credit to the university. Some whose graces for the present were stopped by him returned afterwards to thank him, because (preferring rather to displease than hurt them) the gentle check he gave them occasioned their greater diligence in the race of learning.

Here Cranmer lived, till the infection of the plague forced the students to leave their colleges; and he, to entertain the time with more safety and privacy, became a teacher to some gentleman's sons in the

country; where we leave him for a time, requesting the reader to accompany us to some matters of higher concernment. About this time the divorce betwixt King Henry and Katherine his wife was agitated in the court of Rome. Queen Katherine's age was above her husband's, her gravity above her age; more pious at her beads than pleasant in her bed; a better woman than a wife, and a fitter wife for any prince than King Henry. No wonder, then, if he were impatient to be delayed in his divorce by the dilatory tricks of the Romish court, [which,] intending first to divorce all the gold from England, kept the cause some years in suspension; so torturing King Henry on the rack, betwixt hope and fear not to have his desire effected.

It happened that a courtier came into Cranmer's company, who, familiarly conversing together, amongst other discourse light on this matter of divorce. Cranmer informs the gentleman that the readiest way for the king to attain his desire was no longer to trace the labyrinths of the pope's proceedings, where clients lose themselves in the endless multiplication of affected intricacies, but directly to betake himself to the word of God, according to which the king's marriage, unlawful at the first, might lawfully be annulled. This being brought to the king's ear, (where welcome news would quickly arrive,) Cranmer is sent for, and afterwards employed to the most principal universities in Europe, there publicly to maintain the truth of his aforesaid assertions; and after his return was rewarded for his undertaking (no less learned than laborious) with the archbishopric of Canterbury.

Here I have no leisure to listen to, much less faith

to believe, those false aspersions which Dr. Sanders casteth on this reverend prelate, bottoming the beginning of his court advancement on the basest employments performed by him. Sufficeth it to know that as the hernshaw, when unable by main strength to grapple with the hawk, doth "slice" upon her, bespattering the hawk's wings with dung or ordure; so to conquer with her tail, which she cannot do with her bill and beak: so Papists, finding themselves unable to conquer the Protestants by force of argument out of the Scripture, cast the dung of foul language and filthy railing upon them, wherein Sanders exceedeth all of his Society. Yea, God may seem to have vindicated the innocence of the one, and punished the slanderous mouth of the other, in that the foresaid Sanders was afterwards famished in Ireland; that mouth being starved for want of food, [which was] surfeited with superfluity of falsehood.

Cranmer, now archbishop, so became the place with his piety and gravity that he endeared himself to all conditions of people. This was the greatest fault he was guilty of, that his nature was bad in being too good; he was of too easy and flexible a disposition, which made him cowardly to comply with the church of Rome. For, although he never did any harm to the Protestants, yet he did not unto them so much good as he might and ought.

Some may conceive this passage might well be omitted; but the truth of our love to this good man's memory must not make us to forget our love to truth: besides, this recording of such slips doth read to us in him a lecture of our own infirmities, if God's grace be not more active in our hearts. O,

there is more required to make us valiant, than barely to be able to call another "coward."

During the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. our Cranmer flourished in favour. But no sooner came Queen Mary to the crown but he was scorched with the heat of her anger; as an earnest that his whole body should afterwards be burnt by her cruelty. Indeed, he well deserved of Queen Mary in this particular, because he, with Justice Hales, would never consent to the disinheriting of Queen Mary, and refused to subscribe the *will*—shall I say of Edward VI., or the Duke of Northumberland?—translating the crown on the Lady Jane. But all this would not advance him into the queen's favour, no, nor reconcile to her good *will*; she being still troubled with the *fit of the mother*, and meditating revenge against him, because Cranmer had been the principal promoter of Queen Katherine's divorce: or, which is more probable, (being the queen of herself was not cruelly minded,) some under her, which did bite where she did not bark,—Gardiner the Spaniel, Bonner the Bloodhound,—projected his destruction.

For, being pardoned of treason, (of which he stood guilty with the rest of the Privy Council,) he was charged with heresy, and sent to Oxford, there to dispute upon certain controversies; being nothing else but a plausible contrivance of his death, which was concluded on before any syllogism in that disputation was propounded. However, his adversaries improved themselves so much on his facile nature and love of life, that their large promises prevailed on him so far as to make him subscribe to Popery; though presently after he recanted his recantation, and was burned to ashes for the profession of the

truth; first thrusting his own right hand, faulty for his former subscription, into the fire; so that his hand died a malefactor, and the rest of his body a martyr. All which passages are so largely reported by Master Foxe, who in his History hath so carefully gathered in the harvest, that his diligence hath left no gleanings for posterity to pick, having omitted nothing in his life remarkable for such as succeed him to observe. He writ many things, which are here to his eternal praise truly registered.

1. A Catechism of Christian Doctrine. 2. Ordinations of Churches reformed. 3. Of ordaining Priests. 4. Of the Eucharist with Luther. 5. Of Defence of catholic Doctrine. 6. To the Professors of the Truth. 7. Ecclesiastical Laws in Edward VI.'s reign. 8. Against Gardiner's Sermon. 9. Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. 10. Twelve Books of Common Places, out of the Doctors of the Church. 11. Christian Homilies. 12. To Richard Smith's Calumnies. 13. Confutations of unwritten Truths. 14. Of not marrying one's Sister, two Books. 15. Against the Pope's Primacy, two Books. 16. Against Popish Purgatory, two Books. 17. Of Justification, two Books. 18. Epistles to learned Men.

Out of prison he writ these:—1. Against the Sacrifice of the Mass. 2. Against adoring the Host. 3. To Queen Mary, with others. 4. Emendations of the Translation of the English Bible; and added Prefaces to it.

'T was not enticing honour could remove
The constant heart of Cranmer from the love
Of sound divinity; he always stood
Firm to God's cause, and dyed it with his blood.

A true seraphic and tyrannic fire
Proved (as it were) ambitious to aspire:
And both prevail'd, being willing to control;
Th' one burnt his body, th' other cured his soul.
Image-adoring Papists, boast your fills;
Ye sent a soul to heaven against your wills.
What can ye say, but this,—your rage was spent;
Ye did him good, though with an ill intent?
Prick up your ears, and hear this fatal tone,—
Those fires which made him screek, will make you groan.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CONRAD PELLICAN,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1556.

Conrad Pellican was born at Rubeac in Swedeland,* *anno* 1478; and brought up in learning by his parents. At thirteen years of age he went to Heidelberg. After sixteen months' study there, he returned home, where he entered into a monastery; yet afterwards returned to Heidelberg, and from thence to Tübingen, where he studied the liberal arts, and was much admired for his quick wit. He studied also school divinity and cosmography, wherein he profited exceedingly: he took very great pains

* [Rouffach, in Alsace, which was then a German province, but was in 1648 incorporated into France. The blunder of placing Rouffach in "Swedeland" must have arisen from carelessness on the part of the translator of this Life; the only ground for it being, that Melchior Adamus mentions Pellican's father as sprung *ex oppido* Suevlæ *imperiali*,—meaning, perhaps, Mecklenburg.—Ed.]

in the study of Hebrew; and at Basil was made Doctor in Divinity. Afterwards the pope's legate took him with him towards Rome, being affected with his learning; but, falling sick of a fever by the way, he returned to Basil.

Whilst he thus continued a friar, he was of great esteem amongst them, because of his learning and integrity: but it pleased God at last that by reading Luther's books, and conference with learned and godly men, he began to disrelish the Popish errors, and so far to declare his dislike of them that he was much hated, and persecuted for a Lutheran. But about the same time the senate of Basil chose him lecturer in divinity in that city together with Œcolampadius: where he began first with reading upon Genesis, then on Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes.

Anno Christi 1526, he was, by the means of Zuinglius, sent for to Tygure [Zurich]; and, being come, was most courteously entertained by him. There he laid down his monk's cowl, and married a wife, by whom he had a son, which he named Samuel, being then preaching upon the history of Samuel. That wife dying, he married again, but had no children by his second wife. He was present at the disputation at Berne about religion. After Zuinglius's death, there were chosen into his room Henry Bullinger and Theodore Bibliander, who was an excellent linguist, and began to read upon Isaiah to the great astonishment of his hearers, for that he was not above twenty-three years of age. Pellican, at the earnest request of learned men, printed all his lectures and annotations, which were upon the whole Bible, excepting only the Revelation; which portion of Scripture he not intending to write upon, caused

the Commentary of Sebastian Meyer upon it to be bound with his, to make the work complete. He translated many books out of Hebrew, which were printed by Robert Stephens: and, having been Hebrew Professor at Tygure [Zurich] for the space of thirty years, wherein he was most acceptable to all, not only in regard of his excellent learning and indefatigable pains, but also in regard of his sweet and holy conversation,—at last falling into the pain of the stone and other diseases, he departed this life upon the day of Christ's resurrection, 1556; of his age, 78.

After our Pellican had wander'd long
In the world's wide wilderness, he grew so strong
In grace and goodness, that he soon became
An ample subject for the mouth of Fame.
He was admired by all that loved to be
Serious proficients in divinity.
He lives, he lives, although his body lies
Inshrined by earth: true virtue never dies.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF BUGENHAGIUS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1558.

JOHN BUGENHAGIUS was born at Julinum [Wollin] in Pomerania, *anno Christi* 1485. His parents were of the rank of senators, who bred him up carefully in learning, and sent him to the University of Grypswald [Greifswalde], where he profited in the study of the arts, and the Greek tongue. Being twenty years

old, he taught school at Trepta [Treptow]; and by his learning and diligence he made the school famous, and had many scholars, to whom also he read daily some portion of Scripture, and prayed with them. And meeting with Erasmus's book against the histrionical carriage of the friars, and the idolatry of the times, he gat so much light thereby, that he was stirred up to instruct others therein; and for that end in his school he read Matthew, the Epistles to Timothy, and the Psalms; to which he added catechizing, and also expounded the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; unto which exercises many gentlemen, citizens, and priests resorted. From the school he was called to preach in the church, and was admitted into the college of Presbyters. Many resorted to his sermons of all ranks, and his fame spread abroad; insomuch as Bogislaus, the prince of that country, employed him in writing a History of the same, and furnished him with money, books, and records, for the enabling of him thereto: which History he completed in two years, with much judgment and integrity.

Anno Christi 1520, one of the citizens of Trepta [Treptow] having Luther's book of the Babylonish Captivity sent him, he gave it to Bugenhagius, as he was at dinner with his colleagues; who, looking over some leaves of it, told them that many heretics had disquieted the peace of the church since Christ's time, yet there was never a more pestilent heretic than the author of that book. But after some few days, having read it with more diligence and attention, he made this public recantation before them all: "What shall I say of Luther? All the world hath been blind and in Cimmerian darkness; only

this one man hath found out the truth." And further disputing of those questions with them, he brought most of his colleagues to be of his judgment therein. Hereupon Bugenhagius read Luther's other works diligently, whereby he learned the difference between the Law and the Gospel, justification by faith, &c.; and taught these things also to his hearers. But the devil, envying the success of the Gospel, stirred up the bishop to persecute the professors of it, some of which he cast into prison, and caused others to fly away; insomuch as Bugenhagius also, being not safe, and desirous to be acquainted and to confer with Luther, went to Wittenberg, *anno Christi* 1521, and of his age 36; and came thither a little before Luther's going to the Diet at Worms: in whose absence he opposed Carolostadius, who would have all magistrates to rule by the judicials of Moses, and images to be cast out of churches.

Upon Luther's return out of his Patmos, he was chosen pastor of the church of Wittenberg; which he taught and governed with much felicity, and in many changes of affairs, for the space of thirty-six years, never leaving his station, neither for war nor pestilence; and when he was proffered riches and preferment both in Denmark and Pomerania, yet he would never leave his charge, though he lived but poorly in it. *Anno Christi* 1522, he was sent for to Hamburg, where he prescribed to them a form both of doctrine, ceremonies, and calling of ministers; where he erected a school also, which afterwards grew very famous: and *anno Christi* 1530, being sent for to Lubeck, he prescribed to them also an order both for preaching and discipline, and set up a school there also. *Anno Christi* 1537, he was sent for by

Christian, king of Denmark, to reform religion in his dominions; at which time he set forth a book about the ordination of ministers. There also, instead of the seven bishops of Denmark, he settled seven superintendents to ordain ministers, and to see to the government of the church, whom he ordained in the presence of the king and the senate, in the chief church of Hafnia [Copenhagen]. He set up lectures also in that university, and ordained ministers for the churches of Denmark and Norway, of which there are four-and-twenty thousand.

Anno Christi 1542, he was employed by the elector of Saxony to reform the churches in the dukedom of Brunswick. The year following, the senate of Hildesia [Hildesheim] sent for him to reform their churches; where he, with Corvinus and Henry Winckle, wrote them a form of ordination, and ordained six pastors for their six congregations. *Anno Christi* 1543, he proceeded Doctor, at the instigation of John Frederick, Elector of Saxony. Afterwards, in the wars of Germany for religion, Wittenberg was besieged; and Bugenhagius being grown old, he met with many troubles; yet would he never fly, but by daily prayer to God he much cheered up himself, considering that in so great tempests the poor ship of Christ's church was not swallowed up and devoured.

The controversies and quarrels which sprung up in the church, were the greatest grief to him. Being grown old, and his strength so decayed that he could no longer preach, he yet resorted daily to church, where he poured forth fervent prayers both for himself and the afflicted condition of the church of God at that time. Afterwards, falling sick, (though

without much pain,) he continued instant in prayer, and holy conference with his friends. And drawing near to his end, he often repeated, "This is life eternal, to know Thee the only true God; and Him whom Thou hast sent, Jesus Christ;" and so quietly departed in the Lord, *anno Christi* 1558, and of his age 73.

He was a faithful pastor; merciful to the poor; severe and stout in reproof; an earnest defender of the truth against errors; ardent in prayer, &c. He joined with Luther in the translation of the Bible: which being finished, every year upon that day he invited his friends, and made a feast, which he called, "The feast of the translation of the Bible."

When the Cimmerian darkness had forsook
Brave Bugenhagius, he roused up, and took
Truth by the hand, and from a foe he turn'd
A friend to Luther: though at first he spurn'd
Against his writings, yet at last his breast
Repented what he rashly had express'd.
Then like a star he shined, and was content
To teach himself and others to repent.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF PHILIP MELANCTHON.

In the year of grace 1497, Philippus Melancthon (that vigilant watchman for the general good of the church) was born at Bretta [Bretten], a town situate



PHILIP MELANCTHON.

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in the Lower Palatinate, and only famous for the birth of so excellent a man. His parents, although they were not endued with any store of earthly treasure, yet they were rich in grace, both of them being godly, wise, virtuous, grave, and honest; his father attaining to no greater advancement than to be chief gentleman of arms unto Philippus and Rupertus, two German princes.

In his youth he was committed unto the tuition of Johannes Hungarus, a man excellently qualified; of whom he learned the Latin tongue, and afterwards [was] instructed in the knowledge of the Greek by Georgius Simlerus, who afterwards became a public professor of the civil law; concerning whom Melancthon used to speak with great reverence and respect, both for his eminent gifts, and also for that singular care which he had over him, being a child, and delivered unto him to be instructed in the knowledge of the same tongues.

Being by these two furnished in some measure with the knowledge of those tongues, and being not yet fully twelve years old, (a sufficient testimony of his future worth,) he was sent to the University of Heidelberg, where he studied poetry, and proved also in short time an excellent historian. And he being but a child himself, he taught the children of the Grave* of Leonstein; by which means notice being taken of the excellency of his parts, he was graced in the same university, by a general consent, with the title of Bachelor of Arts. And which is also most remarkable in his youth, here he frequented the company of those which were observed to be the greatest and best learned men; and especially he

* [The *Graf*, or Count.—Ed.]

used the familiarity of Spangelus, a Doctor of Divinity, a man learned, discreet, and wise. Having continued here for the space of three years, he went unto Tubinga [Tübingen] in the year 1512, where he became an auditor unto Brassicanus and Bebelius, the laurel poets of those parts; and also unto Johannes Stoflerus, an excellent mathematician and professor of those arts in that academy; and also Franciscus Stadianus, then logic lecturer; all of them being famous for their excellent endowments. And for the bettering of his understanding in divinity, and increase of his knowledge therein, he repaired unto Dr. Lempus, esteemed the soundest and most judicious in that place; concerning whom he used to say, that he would paint that horrid monster of transubstantiation on a table, and present it publicly unto his auditors; and that he could not but much admire and wonder at the insulsity and blockishness of the man.

Here he was also an auditor unto his master Simlerus professing the civil law, wherein he came unto sound knowledge, as is made apparent by his writings; and having attained unto a singular perfection in the arts and tongues, he was in this university advanced unto the degree of Master of Arts, or Doctor of Philosophy, in the year 1513, and in the seventeenth year of his age. After this dignity conferred on him, he remained four years in the academy, where he commented on Virgil and Terence, read the rhetoric and history lecture with singular judgment, and with the great approbation and applause of his auditors. About this time there being great tumults raised in Saxony concerning religion, grounded on the doctrine taught by Luther, he was called by the

duke of Saxony (God so disposing by His providence) unto Wittenberg, in the year 1518, and in the twenty-second year of his age, and in the tenth year of Luther's residence in the same place, to be a faithful assistant unto him for the advancing of the Gospel. And in this may that city justly glory, that it hath been blessed with the labours of these two undaunted champions, whose actions can hardly be paralleled by any living either in the ancient or in these modern times.

At his departure from Tubinga [Tübingen], his master Simlerus said that his going away was to be much lamented of the whole city; and forthwith added, *Quotquot ibi essent docti homines, non esse tam doctos ut intelligerent, quanta esset doctrina ejus, qui inde evocatus discederet;* that "amongst all the learned men in the city, none could be found guilty of so much learning as to judge truly of that worth which was to be found in that man."

Presently after his coming unto Wittenberg, he publicly began to read his lectures; where Luther being present, he received an excellent approbation from him concerning his sufficiency; and so he proceeded in opening the Scriptures, to the great benefit and instruction of his auditors.

In the year 1519, he was present at the disputation betwixt Luther and Eccius at Leipsic, where sometimes he uttered his opinion amongst them concerning the points in controversy. Eccius, not well brooking his forwardness, cries out unto Luther, *Amove à te istum saccum distinctionum,* "Remove from thee that budget of distinctions;" and after a scornful manner styled him "the grammarian."

In the year 1520 he expounded the Epistle of St.

Paul to the Romans at Wittenberg; which work of his was so well approved by Luther, that he caused it to be printed for the general benefit of the church; and in his preface to the same book he useth these words unto Melancthon: *Ego, quod impii Thomistæ suo Thomæ mendaciter arrogant, scilicet, neminem scripsisse meliùs in Sanctum Paulum, tibi verè tribuo:* "What the Thomists unjustly ascribed unto their Thomas, viz., that none set forth a sounder commentary on Paul; I attribute it justly unto thee." And in the year following, having intelligence that the divines of Paris had condemned the books and doctrine of Luther, he opposed by writing their heady decree, affirming his doctrine to be sound and orthodox.

In the year 1527 he was appointed by the duke of Saxony to visit all the churches within his dukedom; in the performance whereof he wanted neither painful labour nor envious backbiting. And finding in them many disorders and corruptions, he prescribed unto them a form written in the German tongue, which he willed them to embrace and to make use of in their churches. This action of his caused great contention and strife in the country, which by the wisdom and virtue of the same duke was speedily quieted and taken away.

In the year 1529 an assembly of divines was appointed at Spire, where the duke of Saxony was present with Philip Melancthon; who, espying his mother, went unto her, and being demanded by her what she should believe amongst so many different opinions and controversies, he answered that *pergeret hoc credere quod credidisset, nec pateretur se turbari conflictibus disputationum;* that she "should believe what she had hitherto believed;"—and withal willed

her "not to lay to heart nor to be disquieted with those scholastic combats."

The church being about this time in a troublesome state, and so continuing for a season, it pleased the pope to promise the calling of a general council, for the extirpating of these differences out of the church, and for the establishing of an uniform manner of doctrine and discipline. But his intent was only to make trial how Melancthon stood affected: for when his legates requested of him to promise them that he would subscribe to all the decrees of the synod then shortly to be called, he denied their unjust request, and withal telling them, *in concilio et accusationes, et defensiones, et sententias liberas esse oportere, et ineptum de eventu pacisci antequàm cognitio sit suscepta:* "that in a general council all occasions, defendings, opinions, and judgments ought to be free; and that it was a tying void of sense and reason, to yield a subscription unto those things which as yet he did neither know nor understand." And so remaining unmovable in this resolution, there was no general council called, because it lay not in the power of the emperor to command it, and because the pope was unwilling to exercise his authority in that kind, lest the event should have proved fatal unto the apostolical see. About this time comets were seen in the air for the space of three whole years; concerning which Melancthon wrote many learned observations unto his friends.

In the year 1535 the fame of Melancthon came into the kingdom of England and France; wherefore he was sent for by Henry VIII., and invited by the king of France, to settle a reformation in their churches: but he went unto neither of them, in

regard the duke of Saxony would not consent thereunto.

In the year 1539 there was an assembly of the Protestant princes at Frankfort *ad Menum* [on the Main], concerning a reformation, and Melancthon was commanded to make his personal appearance; but being fearful lest any should offer violence unto his person, he there published a work, intituled *De Defensione legitimâ.*

In the year 1541 an assembly was appointed at Worms, where there happened a sharp disputation betwixt Melancthon and Eccius touching original sin; but, by the commandment of the emperor, it was forthwith dissolved, and both of them appointed to meet at Reinspurg [Ratisbon]; where it fell out that Eccius in his disputation propounded a sophistical argument; at the which Melancthon pausing a little space for the better untwisting of it, said unto Eccius that the next day he would give him an answer; whereupon Eccius presently replied that it would be imputed as a great disgrace unto him to require so long a time; unto which he presently answered, *Mi Doctor, non quæro meam gloriam hoc in negotio, sed veritatem:* "Sir, I seek not my own praise in this business, but the truth." Within short time the emperor came to Reinspurg [Ratisbon]; appointed certain learned persons on both sides for continuation of the conference; of whom in the Life of Bucer, &c.

This conference gave no satisfaction, neither unto Eccius, nor unto the bishops there present, nor unto William, duke of Bavaria; and therefore the whole business was referred unto the judgment of a general council, and peace was

enjoined unto both parties by the strict command of the emperor, together with a hope declared as touching the reformation of the churches. In which conference Melancthon objected that axiom against the Papists, *Christus adest non propter panem, sed propter hominem:* "Christ is present in the sacrament, not by reason of the bread, but by reason of the receiver." Which when Luther heard, he joyfully uttered these words: *Macte, Philippe, tu eripuisti Pontificiis, quod ego non ausus fuissem:* "All happiness attend thee, Philip; for thou hast overthrown the Papists in that point, which I dared not to attempt." And with that sentence Eccius was so confuted that he had not a word to speak; yet at the last, in a great rage, he told Melancthon that he would dispute with him *ad ignem usque*, "even unto the very flames:" but the night following he drinking something beyond measure, in regard of the predominancy of his choler, he fell into an ague, wherewith in a few days he died.

Again, in the year 1545, Frederick, the prince elector Palatine, successor unto Lodowick [Louis], greatly desiring a reformation in the churches, he was informed by Melancthon that ecclesiastical government did consist, 1. In the soundness and purity of doctrine. 2. In the lawful use of the sacraments. 3. In a conservation of the ministry of the Gospel, and in obedience towards the pastors of the churches. 4. In the preservation of an honest and godly discipline, which was to be upheld by an ecclesiastical jurisdiction. 5. In the upholding of schools. 6. In supplying such persons as are employed in weighty matters with sufficient necessaries. Which points he caused to be dispersed

amongst the churches; but they wrought little or no reformation.

The year following Germany was oppressed with civil wars; which when it was greatly lamented by Melancthon, some, out of malice, misinterpreting his words, accused him unto the emperor, as one who laboured to hinder his proceedings in the reformation of religion; for which cause the emperor intended his death; but he was defended and delivered by the entreaty of Mauritius [Maurice], the prince elector, who possessed the emperor with a contrary opinion. Not long after it happened that there were great preparations for the Council of Trent; and safe going and returning being concluded on, Melancthon was sent with the letters of the aforesaid Mauritius; and, taking Nuremberg in his way, he was commanded to stay there until he received an answer concerning that faith which was generally to be embraced of all the churches.

During his abode at Nuremberg he heard the news of the expedition of Mauritius against the emperor, in regard of the landgrave of Hassia [Hesse], who was detained captive. Wherefore Melancthon left Nuremberg, and returned again to Wittenberg. Many are of opinion that if he had been present at the said council, and had been suffered to declare his mind freely amongst them, he would have rectified many of their judgments concerning matters of religion.

Being come unto Wittenberg, he constantly went forward in his exercise of teaching, and preaching the word of God, until he fell into an irrecoverable disease, whereby his vital spirits grew so feeble that he was made unfit for the performance of his pastoral

office; and weakness increasing every day more and more upon him, he was constrained at the last to yield unto death; and in the midst of many heavenly prayers he surrendered his soul unto Him that gave it, in the year of our Lord 1560, in the sixty-third year of his age, and after that he had preached the space of forty-two years unto the inhabitants of Wittenberg; where he was buried with great sorrow and lamentation, being laid side by side with Luther.

For his excellent gifts he was not only reverenced by Protestant divines then living, but he also gained a singular approbation of such as were his professed enemies.

He was of a mean stature, not exceeding the common sort of men; his forehead smooth and high, his hair thin, his neck long, his eyes beautiful and piercing; he was broad-breasted, and in general there was a proportionable agreement betwixt all the parts of his body. In his youth he stammered something in his speech; but, reaching unto a maturity of age, he so corrected that infirmity that it gave no offence unto his auditors. The learned treatises which he left unto the church (whose reformation, both in doctrine and discipline, he greatly laboured for in his life) are here inserted.

TOME I.

1. Commentaries on Genesis. 2. Explications on some Psalms. 3. Upon the Proverbs. 4. Annotations on Matthew; 5. John; 6. 1 Corinthians. 7. An Apology for Luther against the Parisians; 8. Anabaptists. 9. Sentences of Fathers. 10. Of the Qualification of Princes. 11. Of the Tree of Consanguinity.

TOME II.

1. A Comment on Paul to the Romans. 2. School Notes on the Colossians. 3. Common-Places of Divinity.

TOME III.

1. A Confession of Faith. 2. A Catechism. 3. A Method of Preaching. 4. Theological Disputations. 5. Of Vows. 6. Of the Doctrine of the Reformed Church. 7. An Epistle to John Earl of Wida.

TOME IV.

1. Philosophical Works. 2. Commentaries on Aristotle's Ethics; 3. Politics. 4. An Epitome of Moral Philosophy.

TOME V.

1. A Latin Grammar. 2. A Greek Grammar. 3. Logic. 4. Rhetoric. 5. Enarrations on Hesiod's Works. 6. Arithmetic. 7. Epigrams.

These were printed by Hervagius; but there are divers others set forth by Christopher Pezelius; as, 1. An Admonition to those that read the Alcoran. 2. A Defence for the Marriage of Priests. 3. Commentaries on Daniel. 4. A Discourse on the Nicene Creed. 5. Luther's Life and Death. 6. School Notes on Cicero's Epistles. 7. Translations of Demosthenes and Plutarch. 8. Greek and Latin Epgrams. 9. Two tomes of Epistles. 10. Carion's Chronology enlarged.

Would thy ingenious fancy soar and fly
Beyond the pitch of modern poesy;

Or wouldst thou learn to charm the conquer'd ear
With rhetoric's oily magic? Wouldst thou hear
The majesty of language? Wouldst thou pry
Into the bowels of philosophy,
Moral, or natural? Or wouldst thou sound
The holy depth, and touch the unfathom'd ground,
Of deep theology? Nay, wouldst thou need
The system of all excellence, and feed
Thy empty soul with learning's full perfection?
Go, search Melancthon's tomes; by whose direction
Thou shalt be led to fame, if his rare story
Can make thee emulous of so great a glory.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN A LASCO,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1560.

John Lascus was born of a noble family in Poland, an brought up in learning. Afterwards travelling to Tygure [Zurich] in Helvetia, he was by Zuinglius persuaded to betake himself to the study of divinity: and when he might have been preferred to great honour in his own country, such was his love to Christ and His church, and such his hatred to Popery, that he chose with Moses to suffer affliction with the people of God, rather than to live in worldly honour and peace amongst his friends.

Coming into Friesland *anno Christi* 1542, he was called to be a pastor at Embden, where he fed and ruled his flock with great diligence. The year after

he was sent for by Anne the widow of Count Oldenburg, to reform the churches in East Friesland; and the next year after by Albert, duke of Prussia; but when he agreed not with him in judgment about the Lord's Supper, the work remained unperfected. About that time, (the emperor persecuting the Protestants,) he was sent for by King Edward VI. (upon Cranmer's motion) into England, where he gathered, preached unto, and governed the Dutch church, which remains to this day. In the days of Queen Mary, he obtained leave to return beyond sea, and went with a good part of his congregation into Denmark: but there he found but cold entertainment, by reason of his differing from them about the Lord's Supper. The churches of Saxony also rejected them, not suffering them to live amongst them, upon the like reason. At length that poor congregation found entertainment in Friesland, under the Lady Anne Oldenburg, and settled at Embden.

Anno Christi 1555, he went thence to Frankfort upon Main; where, with the consent of the senate, he gathered a church of strangers, especially out of Belgia. From thence he wrote a letter to the king of Poland and his council, vindicating his doctrine from some aspersions cast upon it by his adversaries. Many enemies also rose up against him and his congregation, for differing from them about Christ's presence in the sacrament; especially one Westphalus, who wrote bitterly against them, calling them Zuinglians, and affirming that all those which had suffered about that point in Belgia, England, or France, were the devil's martyrs.

At last Lascus returning into his own country, from which he had been absent twenty years, there

he found God's harvest to be great, and the labourers to be very few. His coming was very unwelcome to the Popish clergy, who sought by all means to destroy him, or to get him banished; and therefore they accused him to the king for an heretic, beseeching him not to suffer him to stay in the kingdom. To whom the king answered, that though they pronounced him an heretic, yet the states of the kingdom did not so esteem him, and that he was ready to clear himself from those aspersions. When they thus prevailed not, they cast abroad reproaches and all manner of lies, as if he would stir up a civil war in the kingdom. But it pleased God, when he had spent a little time in instructing his friends, that he sickened, and died, *anno Christi* 1560. He was of an excellent wit and judgment, and took much pains to have composed that difference in the churches about Christ's presence in the sacrament, though it succeeded not. The king of Poland had him in such esteem that he made use of his advice and help in many great and difficult businesses.

Wisdom and goodness both conjoin'd
To beautify A Lasco's mind.
He was laborious to fulfil
And prosecute his Maker's will.
His heart was proud to undertake,
To do, or suffer for God's sake.
Therefore no question but he 's blest,
And rests in peace and endless rest.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF AUGUSTINE MARLORAT.

Augustine Marlorat was born in the dukedom of Lorraine, *anno Christi* 1506. His parents died whilst he was young; and his kindred, gaping after his estate, thrust him at eight years of age into a monastery of Augustine friars: by which means (God so ordering of it) he was brought up in learning; and, having studied the body of divinity in France, came to the University of Lusanna [Lausanne], which is a famous town of the lords and states of the country of Berne, situated hard by the Lake of Leman, and is a place famous for divinity; where he profited much in learning, and came to the knowledge of the truth. And from thence he was chosen to be pastor at Vivia [Vevay]; and from thence he was sent for to Rottomag [Rouen], where he behaved himself with much piety and wisdom.

Anno Christi 1561, he was present at the conference at Posiah [Poissy], between the cardinal of Lorraine and Theodore Beza; where he acquitted himself with much courage. The year following, when the civil wars brake forth in France, the city of Rotomag [Rouen] was besieged, and, after a hard siege, was taken; where Marlorat and four other chief citizens, by the malice of Montmorency and Francis duke of Guise, were hanged; though some of his adversaries would have saved him. This was done the thirtieth of October, *anno Christi* 1562, and of his age six-and-fifty: whose works, being ever-living monuments, are preserved to the benefit of the church of God, and are here set down.



AUGUSTINE MARLORAT.

1. A catholic and ecclesiastical Exposition of the New Testament. 2. An Exposition upon Genesis. 3. An Exposition on the Psalms of David. 4. An Exposition upon the Prophecy of Isaiah. 5. His Thesaurus, or Treasure-House of the whole canonical Scripture, digested into Common-Places: also the hard phrases alphabetically printed, which usually are met withal in the Scriptures, by the care and industry of William Feugerius of Rohan, professor of divinity; to whom Marlorat left this work, being not altogether perfected at the time of his dissolution.

Renowned Marlorat did breathe to give
A breath to worth, which worth shall make him live;
Virtue shall be his herald, and his name
Shall stand recorded in [the] rolls of fame.
The trumpet of his praise shall sound the bolder,
Because true virtue need crave no upholder.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF AMSDORFIUS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1563.

Nicholas Amsdorfius was born in Misnia, of noble parents, *anno Christi* 1483, and brought up in learning. From school he went to the University of Wittenberg about that time that Luther began to preach against indulgences. In *anno Christi* 1504 he commenced Master of Arts, and afterwards Licentiary in Divinity. He embraced the truth that brake forth

in those times, and preached it to others. He accompanied Luther to Worms. In the time of Luther's recess into his Patmos, he, with Melancthon and Justus Jonas, being sent to by the elector of Saxony for their judgment about the mass, declared that it was a horrible profanation of the Lord's Supper; whence ensued the abolishing of it out of all churches in Wittenberg. He wrote also that the pope was Antichrist. *Anno Christi* 1524, Luther being sent for to Magdeburg, he went thither; and having preached to them, he commended to them and afterwards sent Amsdorfius to gather and instruct the churches there, who faithfully laboured eighteen years in that place.

Anno Christi 1541 he was sent by the elector of Saxony to govern the church at Naumburg in the Palatinate; where also the year after he was ordained bishop by Luther, three other pastors also imposing of their hands upon him. But six years after he was driven away from thence by the Emperor Charles V.; whence he fled to Magdeburg, and was there during the siege of it, *anno Christi* 1550; and the year after, George Major having published this proposition, that good works were necessary to salvation, Amsdorfius in heat of contention wrote, that good works were hurtful and dangerous to salvation. He died about the four-score and eighth year of his age, *anno Christi* 1563.

Amsdorfius was the life of worth: his days
Were fill'd with trouble, yet perpetual praise
Waited upon him; for he did oppose
The errors of the pope; in spite of those





WOLFGANG MUSCULUS.

That were his enemies, he did maintain
The pope was Antichrist, the mass profane.
He fear'd them not, but boldly did profess
The truth; and now is crown'd with happiness.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF WOLFGANGUS MUSCULUS.

In the year of our Lord God 1497, and on the sixth of the ides of September,* (a day much observed by our ancestors for the birth of the Virgin Mary, and also for the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus the son of Vespasian,) was Wolfgangus Musculus, that faithful servant of Christ, born at Dusa [Dieuze], a little town situate in Lotharingia [Lorraine], famous only for the abundance of salt-pits, wherewith it is richly stored.

His father was called Antonius Musculus, who by his profession was a cooper; he was religiously given, but of a mean estate. His mother was named Angela Sartoria, descended from an honest and well esteemed parentage; a woman endued with zeal towards religion, with unspotted chastity, and also with a singular wisdom. They were blessed with two sons,—Hammanus, and this Wolfgangus.

The former was brought up in his father's profession: the other appearing more ingenuous, and more fit for learning, he was set apart thereunto; which he prosecuted with such an ardent affection, that

* [In plain English, on the eighth of September.—Ed.]

even in his tender years he would exercise himself continually in reading or writing, unless he were violently withdrawn from, and as it were with reins restrained from, those actions.

Reaching unto that maturity of age wherein he appeared fit for more solid studies, his father, furnishing him with some necessaries for the journey, sent him away unto other schools, wherein, according to his own desire, he might attain unto greater perfection. The reason why he sent him so slenderly furnished was, because he would have him to get his victuals by singing and begging from door to door, according to the custom of those times, who used, although rich, to thrust out their sons into the world after that manner, that by that means they might join patience, temperance, and humility, with their learning; fearing that if they should be tenderly and delicately brought up, they would be more addicted unto, and sooner follow and embrace, idleness and lust than their studies.

Being sent away after this manner he went into Alsatia, and taking a view of some certain towns in that country, at the length he came unto Rappersvill [Rapperschwyl], where a well disposed widow fixed her eyes upon him, and, inwardly lamenting his outward misery, whose cheerful countenance promised a more favourable fortune, received him into her house, and according unto her ability sustained him, (he frequented the school,) until such time as a generous and noble gentleman living in the same place had notice of him, who conferred extraordinary courtesies on him, for his maintenance at the school, as he himself freely confessed.

Having continued here a certain space, he shaped

his course unto Schelestadt, where he addicted himself unto the study of poetry; wherein he proved excellent, to the great approbation of his master: and in this course of study he continued, until he reached unto the age of fifteen years.

Then, having a desire to return unto Dusa [Dieuze], to visit his parents, he directed his course unto a monastery,—lying in the Palatinate, founded by the lords of Lützelstein, and consecrated to St. Benedict,—because he intended to visit his aunt Sophia living at Westerreich, near adjoining unto the said monastery, where he was lovingly entertained by her; who brought him, the evening following, with her into the monastery, to behold the forms and customs of the place, in the performance of their Divine exercises; where he adjoined himself unto the choristers, and sung his part with them, with such a comeliness of gesture and pleasantness of voice, that the prior was greatly affected towards him, intending to allure him, if possible he could, to be a member of the said monastery. And for that cause he diligently observes his going out at the end of prayers, and withal follows him close at the heels, accompanying his aunt; of whom he demanded, whose son he was? and from whence he came? She forthwith replied, that he was her sister's son, and that he was returning from school unto Dusa [Dieuze] unto his parents.

The prior then turning himself unto Musculus, he demanded of him how he liked a monasterical life; and withal told him that if he would frame himself thereunto, he would use means that he should be admitted gratis into the college, (which favour had as yet been conferred on none,) and that he should

be sufficiently provided of apparel and lodging, and that he would esteem him as his own son.

His aunt returned many thanks unto the prior for this unexpected favour, promising that she would forthwith acquaint his parents with the motion, and would also return a speedy answer unto him, how they stood affected. So, taking their leave of the prior, they provided [proceeded] for Dusa; where arriving, she declared the kind motions of the prior. His parents were exceeding joyful of the news, and persuaded themselves that it was a blessing proceeded from God; and therefore they hasted again to return him to the prior, who lovingly entertained and received him into the number of his own family, clothed him with a habit suitable to the monastery, sent him unto the bishop to be admitted (according to the custom) into his office, and lovingly esteemed him as if he had been his own son, until he died.

In this monastery he continued for the space of fifteen years, which time he spent, not as lazy and idle monks commonly do, but in the increasing and perfecting of his learning; sometimes perusing the works of Tully, sometimes reading the books of Ovid, and contracting them into a briefer volume, which work was much applauded by Claudius Cantiuncula, a learned lawyer in those times; sometimes spending time in the art of music, wherein also he attained unto excellent knowledge. Neither did he confine himself only unto those studies, but passed from them unto divinity, into which he entered about the twentieth year of his age. And being told by an old devout monk, that if he intented to become a good preacher, he must endeavour to be familiar with the Bible; he forthwith gave himself unto the reading of

the Scriptures, reposing and laying up those things in his memory, which seemed unto him most useful for future occasions.

And notice being taken of his knowledge therein, and of the ability of his parts, the office of a preacher was imposed on him; and he was first designed unto the church at Leixheim, belonging unto the jurisdiction of the monastery; where his auditors perceiving his excellent gifts, they dispersed his fame, whereby he came to be called to the exercising of his gifts in many other churches.

During his continuance in this exercise, many of Luther's books were dispersed through Germany; some of which were conveyed to him by an intimate friend of his. These he diligently perused and read day and night, and not with less benefit than labour, embracing the purest doctrine that he found therein with great zeal; and would confer with his colleagues many times about the same, stiffly defending and maintaining that doctrine against their calumnies; disdaining that aspersion of heresy which was by some of them fastened upon him; affirming that although Luther, as he was a man, might err in some points, yet he was not therefore to be pronounced a heretic. Neither did he vindicate this in the monastery only, but publicly he delivered the same for true and undoubted doctrine unto his auditors, [so] that for the same he was by many evil disposed persons styled "the Lutheran monk."

But his desire of propagating the truth wanted not, by the blessing of God, good success; for, besides many of his auditors, he converted some of the monks of the same monastery, who afterwards forsook that cloister life, and constantly professed the

Gospel of Christ unto their lives' end. He also converted many noblemen; and amongst them Reinhardus à Rothenburg, governor of the castle at Lützelstein, a man in great favour with the Prince Elector Palatine.

In these proceedings he wanted not mighty and bitter enemies; for in the monastery the senior monks (who were deeply rooted in superstition) sharply opposed him, doing him all the mischief that they could. As for outward enemies, they were not wanting; for the bishops of Mentz and Strasburg had many times surprised him, had he not been carefully protected by the foresaid governor.

This governor, being willing to make trial of his constancy in the cause of religion, on a time (during his abode under his protection) came to the church where he was preaching, guarded with some few horsemen; and, having altered his habit that he might not be known, he calls unto him after a bold threatening manner, and commands him to come forth out of the church. Musculus supposing that they had been some sent from the bishop to apprehend him, he desired of them that they would give him leave to finish his sermon, and then he would go with them whithersoever they pleased; which being granted, he went forward in his sermon, without making any show of the least fear. His sermon being ended, and he supposing that he should die, he exhorted his auditors unto constancy, faith, and piety; and withal desired them to pour out their prayers unto God for him, who was then ready to lay down his life for Christ; and so [having] committed them all unto almighty God, (who were wonderfully astonished with this action,) he came down and

yielded himself into the hands of those who expected his coming. Reinhardus, admiring the undaunted courage of the man, discovered himself, and, embracing him in his arms, exhorted him always to retain the same constancy, promising him sure defence, as long as he continued and resided within his liberties.

But Musculus perceiving danger to increase daily, so that he could not have liberty to make profession of the Gospel in that place, he resolved to forsake the monastery, and to betake himself unto some place where he might with more freedom and less danger profess the same. He acquainted some of the monks, which were his intimate friends, with this resolution. They, by reason of the death of the prior at that time, desired him to stay, and would willingly have conferred the government of the monastery on him; but he, knowing that that dignity would prove a hinderance unto that which he most aimed at, refused it, and willed them to bestow it on Brisacius. Before he departed, he betrothed himself unto a kinswoman of the said Brisacius; who also went together with him unto Strasburg, in the year 1527, and in the thirtieth year of his age; where, according to the manner of that church, he was publicly married; the minister bestowing a wedding dinner on them in his own house.

Here misery began to creep more and more upon him; partly because of that little money wherewith he was furnished to sustain both himself and his wife; and partly because there was no hope left unto him of getting any thing by preaching, because many eminent persons were silenced in the same city. Wherefore, for the avoiding of further poverty, his wife turned servant, and he covenanted with a weaver

to do him service for the space of two months. Which action, although that it ministered grief unto him, yet casting himself upon God, he comforted himself with this distich :—

Est Deus in cœlo, qui providus omnia curat,
Credentes nunquam deseruisse potest.

"God by His foresight hath such order taken,
That true believers cannot be forsaken."

This weaver with whom he had covenanted was an Anabaptist, who nourished in his house a teacher of that sect. Musculus, perceiving his great hypocrisy and idleness, would sometimes object unto him those words of Paul, "He that will not work, let him not eat." At which saying the weaver was greatly offended, so as at the end of two months he gave him his wages, and bade him be gone. Musculus was now compelled to seek him a new master; and it happened at that time that the inhabitants of Strasburg employed many labourers, about the scouring of the ditch which environed the city, and about the repairing of the breaches in the walls. He agrees with the master of the work, and towards night he walks about the walls to view what place might please him best to work in; which being done, he returned unto his wife, who certified him of better news, and, as God so disposed, of a better work; and that was this,—that a messenger was in the house, who willed him to meet the senate and Bucer in the cathedral church. He much admired at the first what this should mean, yet forthwith he went. Bucer, having notice of him, calls him unto him :

he being no sooner come, the council commanded him to go unto the village called Dorlizheim, distant three miles from Strasburg, and there to preach the Gospel of Christ unto the people, and to exhort them unto humility and obedience.

At his first entrance upon this cure, Bucer took him into his own house, and made use of him for the writing of such things as he intended for the press. Afterwards, by the advice of the ministers of Strasburg, he settled himself with his wife in the village. The inhabitants received him with all courtesy, freely offering him all things necessary for his house. Here he continued preaching for the space of twelve months, receiving not any thing for his pains, which notwithstanding he performed without grudging. The reason was, because the abbot of Hohenfürst, who received the tithes of the parish, refused to give him any money: which being understood by those of Strasburg, he was bountifully relieved out of the common treasury.

Unto his preaching he also added the teaching and instructing of youth, whereby he gained the entire love of his parishioners, so that they received him as a grave father. Not far from this village there was a monastery dedicated unto St. John, pertaining unto the diocese of the bishop of Strasburg, wherein an annual feast of dedication was celebrated; at which a monk, or some mass priest, used to preach. Musculus, at the entreaty of his neighbours, went along with them to hear the sermon. The monk discoursed on that saying of St. Paul to the Hebrews, that "without faith it was impossible to please God;" and, having delivered many things as touching the excellency of faith, at the last he bitterly inveighed

against the Lutherans, and especially those of Strasburg, calling them deserters of the Catholic faith. This railing act, as it was pleasing unto the monks and priests there present, so it grieved Musculus to hear the true professors thus scandalized. Wherefore, at the coming down of the monk from the pulpit, he goeth unto him, and uttereth these words, in the audience of the congregation: "O thou wicked fellow, stay here a while, and thou shalt hear me lay open thy wickedness unto all this congregation:" and then, ascending the pulpit, he repeated again the same words of St. Paul; where he showed unto them that by "faith" in that place was meant a true and a saving faith in Jesus Christ; and that those professors at Strasburg did rely on none but on this faith, and therefore [were] unjustly wronged by the monks.

The priests and monks hearing this, they withdrew themselves out of the chapel: in comes the prior, interrupts him, and commands him to desist, and to come down; and withal asked him, who gave him authority to preach in that place? He forthwith replied, "Who gave thee authority to constitute a lying monk here, who doth unjustly and impudently reproach the senate and people of Strasburg? And know thou this, that I am in duty bound to clear my magistrates from unjust and false aspersions." The prior, being repulsed with this answer, was for a while quiet; and he went forward in his sermon. But, being not so contented, [the prior] sets on him again, and kindly entreats him that he would give over; telling him, that his proceeding would cause a seditious tumult. He again desireth him to be pacified, and exhorteth the people to be quiet; and so, with a bold and courageous spirit, he continued even

unto the end of his sermon. The report of this coming to Strasburg, it procured unto him great applause, and a reverent esteem amongst all good men. Having spent a year in this village, he was called by the ministers of Strasburg to take upon him the office of a deacon: which office he was very unwilling to take upon him, urging his own inability; yet, by the persuasion of the ministers, he yielded, and performed it for the space of two years.

In which time this memorable act is recorded of him,—that, being sent unto Dosna, a village near Strasburg, to preach unto the inhabitants, who were obstinate Papists, he wrought upon them so effectually at his first sermon, that of their own accord they abrogated the mass, and cast the priest with all his ornaments out of the church. After that he had taught here six weeks, he was called again unto the city, to perform the office of a deacon. During his residence in the city, he became an auditor unto the lectures of Wolfgangus Capito and Martin Bucer; and also at vacant times he gave himself to the study of the Hebrew tongue; wherein he attained unto that perfection, that with his own hand he writ a Hebrew Lexicon, and understood the most obscured commentaries of the Rabbins, together with the Chaldee Interpreters.

At the end of two years, the citizens of Augsburg sent unto Strasburg to desire Musculus a few years for their churches. They consented unto so pious a motion; but Musculus was unwilling to go, pleading again his insufficiency; neither had he gone, notwithstanding the entreaty of the ministers, had not the senate commanded him thereunto.

At his coming unto Augsburg, he found the

church much troubled and afflicted, not only by reason of the evil attempts and endeavour of the Papists, who never ceased to extinguish the light of the Gospel; but also by reason of the Anabaptists, who seduced and led away many; whose boldness also advanced itself unto that height, that they would come publicly into the Protestant churches, and openly in their pulpits they would divulge their errors, whereby sedition and tumults were raised in the city, for which many of the Anabaptists were committed by the magistrate unto prison. Musculus deals first with the Anabaptists. In their first conference they did obstinately oppose him; but afterwards, considering his solid and weighty reasons and arguments which they could not withstand, they acknowledged their error, and many of them made a public recantation, forsook their errors, and became members of the church.

Afterwards he had a sharp conflict with the Papists, whom also, in the presence of the senate and people of Augsburg, he openly confuted, with such powerful arguments that the senate expelled and banished them all the city, purged the churches from all idolatrous worship, and consecrated them only unto the evangelical truth; designing unto Musculus one of the principallest churches in the city, and having him in a reverent estimation. In this place, besides his labours in the ministry, which were great, he attained the knowledge of the Greek tongue, together with the Arabic.

He taught in this city eighteen years, to the great benefit of his auditors. In his sermons he was vehement and powerful, wonderfully working upon the hearts of the people: he was a sharp reprover of

vice. His method which he observed in teaching was exact and easy, which drew the greater concourse of people unto him, for their better instruction and information in the way of truth.

In the year 1536 there was a synod proclaimed at Isenacum [Eisenach], a town situate in the dukedom of Saxony, for the reconciling of the churches about the sacrament; whither Musculus was sent by the senate of Augsburg; but, because Luther came not thither, he with many other divines went unto Wittenberg, touching the conclusion; viz., Bucer, Melancthon. In the year 1540 the princes and senates of the empire were assembled at Worms, and Reinspurg [Ratisbon], to hear a disputation betwixt the Protestant ministers and the Papists touching religion, where Musculus by the command of the senate was present, and delivered two sermons before the princes, concerning the Popish mass, which for their excellency were afterwards printed at Wittenberg. The assembly being dissolved, without any thing effected, he returned again to Augsburg, where he continued in his ministerial function until the year 1547, wherein Carolus the Emperor commanded an assembly of the princes and senates of the empire at Augsburg, unto which both himself, with his brother Ferdinand King of the Romans, and also the princes, [came,] being accompanied with cardinals and bishops. At the first entrance of the emperor into the city, Musculus was put void of his church, it being given unto the emperor; yet he ceased not to perform his office, and boldly to preach in other places of the city, the senate and people as yet constantly retaining the profession of the Gospel.

He wanted not enemies at that time in the city,

who acquainted the emperor, the king, the cardinals and bishops, with his proceeding, accusing him of sedition and heresy; and the senate perceiving the danger that he was in, they commanded a guard to accompany him unto the church and home again: which his enemies perceiving, and not daring to use any violence against his person in the streets, they with one consent flocked unto his house, using many reproachful speeches, laying on him many false aspersions, and withal breaking his windows with stones; all which he suffered with an undaunted spirit, resolving to persevere in that truth which he taught even to the period of his days. But it so fell out that in the year following the emperor had promulgated a book written concerning religion, called the *Interim*, which he would have to be embraced and confirmed by the states and cities of the empire; which when he [Musculus] perceived that it was received by the senate, first, he publicly opposed it in the church, and exhorted them to the constant profession of their former doctrine; and, secondly, he told them that he must be compelled to depart from them, in case they did refuse his motion. But he perceiving no hopes of altering their opinions, after that he had taken his supper, he left the city, being accompanied only with one citizen, committing his wife and eight children which he left behind him unto the protection of the Almighty; and, being without the ports, he changed his habit, lest through the same he might be discovered by his enemies.

And having turned a waggon,* he went toward Tigurum [Zurich], where he remained a few days

* [In the Latin of Melchior Adamus the expression is, *conscenso curru*, "having got up into a carriage."—Ed.]

with Bullinger; and from thence he departed and went unto Basil, unto Johannes Hervagius. His wife followed immediately after him, not knowing where to find him, unless at Basil; wherefore, when she came to Constance, for her assurance she sent letters by a trusty friend, whom she desired to certify her husband of her abode at Constance. The messenger, finding Musculus at Basil, delivered the letters, and forthwith [he] returned unto Constance, where he found his wife and children.. Upon the Lord's Day following he preached twice in the city, taking for his text those words in John vi. 66: "From that time many of His disciples went back, and walked no more with Him. Then said Jesus unto the twelve, Will ye also go away," &c. From which place of Scripture he showed unto them, how greatly those cities did offend which did fall from the truth of Christ for the favour of men; and withal he earnestly exhorted the people of Constance, not to follow the examples of such, but constantly to adhere unto the truth taught by Christ in His word. And this was the last sermon that was preached in the peaceable state of the commonwealth; for, the day following, the Spanish forces under the conduct of Alphonsus Vives beleaguered the city. During the siege, by the persuasion of Ambrosius Blaurerus, a reverend pastor, Musculus with his wife and children were conveyed out of the city with safety; and they escaped the fury of the enemies, intending to go for Tigurum [Zurich]; but by reason of sickness, which seized on his wife, he was compelled to remain at Sangallum [St. Gall]. After her recovery he went unto Tigurum, where he was joyfully received of the inhabitants, with whom he continued six months,

before he was called to perform his ministerial function: in which vacancy he was called by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, into England; but in regard of his own age, as unfit for travel, and in respect of the weakness of his wife, and the many children which he had, he modestly refused.

Not long after, the inhabitants of Berne were destitute of a divinity lecturer for their schools; wherefore he was called by the senate unto that profession; which indeed was most welcome unto him, partly for the excellency of that church and commonwealth, and partly for the renewing of his acquaintance with his old friend Johannes Hallerus. He entered upon this lecture in the year 1549, and constantly continued in it for the space of fourteen years, to the exceeding benefit of the church of Christ; opening in that space unto his auditors almost the whole Bible. He naturally detested controversies, and would write his mind without the injury or contempt of others; so that his works were opposed by no man in public during his life, only those two sermons excepted, which he preached before the princes at Worms, which were opposed by Cochlæus.

The great love which he carried towards the inhabitants of Berne appeareth in this, that he refused great honour and ample revenues, which were proffered unto him during his lectureship at Berne. For he was thrice called into England, seconded with large rewards: also the inhabitants of Augsburg having again obtained their former liberty, amongst other banished ministers, they first recalled Musculus. He was again desired by the inhabitants of Strasburg; invited by Otho Henricus, and Fredericus, prince elector Palatine, and by the landgrave of

Hassia [Hesse], many times: but he modestly refused all these, though honourable callings; intending to perform his best service unto the end of his days unto that city who had showed and vouchsafed him such kindness in his greatest extremity; which indeed was truly performed.

Not long before his death he was sickly, partly by reason of his years,—his body being spent with infinite cares and labours,—and partly by reason of a vehement cold which did much afflict him; whereby he gathered that he was to leave that house of clay; and therefore, setting all other things aside, he entered into a heavenly meditation of death; the sum of which he hath left unto the world, being written by himself before his death.

Nil superest vitæ, frigus præcordia captat:
Sed Tu, Christe, mihi vita perennis ades.
Quid trepidas, anima? ad sedes abitura quietis;
En, tibi ductor adest angelus ille tuus.
Linque domum hanc miseram, nunc in sua fata ruentem,
Quam tibi fida Dei dextera restituet.
Peccásti? scio: sed Christus credentibus in Se
Peccata expurgat sanguine cuncta Suo.
Horribilis mors est? fateor; sed proxima vita est,
Ad quam te Christi gratia certa vocat.
Præsto est, de Satanâ, peccato et morte triumphans,
Christus; ad hunc igitur læta alacrisque migra.

"This life is done, cold death doth summon me:
A life eternal I expect from Thee,
My Saviour Christ. Why dost thou fear, my dove?
He will conduct thee to His throne above.
Forsake this body, this corrupted creature:
Thy God will change it to a better nature.

Dost thou abound with sin ? I do confess
That thou art guilty, and dost oft transgress.
But Christ His blood doth wash and cleanse all those
That can themselves in Him by faith repose.
Doth death appear an object full of horror,
Both ugly, ghastly, and not wanting terror ?
I do confess it, but that life again
Which follows death doth take away that pain;
Unto which life we called are by Christ.
Then do no longer, O my soul, resist,
But yield thou with all cheerfulness to dwell
With Him, triumphing o'er death, sin, and hell."

Afterwards the strength of his sickness did increase by the addition of an ague, whereby he was brought so weak that he was not able to sit upright in his bed. Wherefore he sent unto Master Johannes Hallerus and other ministers, unto whom he declared the faith which he died in; and, withal, committed the care of his wife and children unto them; who told him that they would not be deficient in anything wherein they might show themselves beneficial and helpful unto them.

As he was a man endued with an extraordinary patience in his life, so he also testified the same during his sickness: for he sustained that affliction with admired patience, still calling upon and praying unto Almighty God, relying only upon Him; as appeared by that speech of his unto his son, who standing by his bedside weeping, he turned to him, and told him that he need not doubt of his father's faith; which indeed were the last words which he uttered; and not long after he yielded up his soul with all quietness into the hands of God, in the year of

Christ 1563, and in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and was buried at Berne.

He was a man learned and grave, affable and courteous; sparing in his diet. He was something tall in stature; having a body straight, a face red, eyes clear and quick-sighted. In general, there was a proportionable agreement betwixt all his parts His works are these:—

1. Commentaries on Genesis; 2. Psalms; 3. Matthew; 4. John; 5. Romans; 6. Corinthians; 7. Philippians; 8. Colossians; 9. Thessalonians; 10. 1 Timothy. 11. His Common-Places. 12. Upon the Commandments. 13. Of Oaths. 14. Of the German Wars.

TRANSLATIONS OF GREEK AUTHORS.

1. Commentaries of Chrysostom on St. Paul's Epistles. 2. Epistles of St. Basil. 3. Ethics of Basil. 4. Of Solitary Life. 5. Homilies. 6. School Notes of Basil on the Psalter. 7. Thirty-nine Epistles of Cyril. 8. A Declaration of the twelve Anathemas in the Ephesnic [Ephesian] Council. 9. Opinions of Nestorius confuted. 10. Synopsis of the Scriptures, out of Athanasius. 11. One hundred and forty Questions out of the Old and New Testament. 12. A Synopsis of Theodore Bishop of Tyre.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIES.

1. Ten Books of Eusebius of Ecclesiastical Affairs. 2. Five Books of Eusebius of the Life of Constantine. 3. Eight Books of Socrates. 4. Nine Books of Sozomen. 5. Two Books of Theodore. 6. Six of Evagrius. 7. Five of Polybius.

'T was neither fear nor danger could estrange
Undaunted Musculus, or make him change
His resolutions; nothing could prevail
Against the bulwarks of his fort, or scale
His well arm'd thought. He would (in spite of those
That were so barbarous to be his foes)
Proclaim the truth, and would not let it rest
(Until discover'd) in his serious breast.
He lived God's faithful factor here below,
To send Him souls to heaven, and to bestow
That talent He had given Him, that he might,
When 's Master called, cast his accounts aright.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF HYPERIUS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1564.

Andreas Gerardus Hyperius was born at Ypres in Flanders, *anno Christi* 1511. His father was a counsellor, who brought him up carefully in learning. At thirteen years old he travelled through the islands of Flanders, and learned the French tongue. Afterwards he went to Paris, where he studied in that university the arts for three years, and then went home to visit his friends. But, after a short stay, he returned to Paris, and studied divinity and physic: and every year in the vacation time he travelled abroad into France; so that in three years he had seen most part of France, and part of Italy, and visited the chiefest universities in both. Then he went to Louvain, and into most parts of the Lower Germany; and at twenty-six years old he travelled into Upper Germany.

Then he sailed into England; where falling into the company of Charles Montjoy, (Baron Montjoy's son,) he took such affection to him, that he desired him to live with him; where he lived four years with much content, and then he visited Cambridge. And the Lord Cromwell being beheaded about that time, and the Six Articles pressed with rigour, he thought of returning into his own country; first visiting Oxford; and from thence he went to London, and so sailed to Antwerp, and from thence he went home. But, hearing the fame of the University of Argentine [Strasburg], and of Bucer there, he travelled thither also. But in the way he went to Marpurg, where Noviomagus was divinity professor; who importuned him to stay there, and to give some taste of his learning, and to be his assistant. When he had prevailed with him, he shortly after dying, Hyperius was chosen in his room; and after two years' stay, he married a wife, one Catharine Orthia, with whom he lived with much comfort, and had by her six sons and four daughters.

He taught there with much diligence and faithfulness twenty-two years. He directed young students in the composing of their sermons; and heard them first preach in private, that if anything were amiss, either in their voice or gesture, he might rectify them in it. He was never idle, but always either writing, reading, or meditating, so that he much weakened his body thereby. At last, falling sick of a fever, he gave divers instructions to his wife, for the education of his children; and to his children, whom he exhorted to serve God, and to obey their mother. And when his friends visited him, he requested them to bear witness, that in that faith

wherein he had lived, and which he had taught, he now died; and so continued making a profession of the same till he yielded up his spirit unto God; being about fifty-three years old, *anno Christi* 1564; having been pastor of the church, and professor in the university, twenty-two years.

Studious Hyperius always loved to be
In consultation with divinity.
He loved the truth, and always strived to fly
Upon the wings of true solidity.
Religion was his guide; he always stood
Firmly obedient unto what was good.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN CALVIN.

In the year of our Lord God 1509, this reverend and faithful minister of Jesus Christ, John Calvin, was born at Noviodunum [Noyon], a famous town situate in that part of Aquitaine which borders upon Picardy. He may well be termed the lustre of the French nation, for his excellent endowments of learning and piety. He was descended from virtuous parents; blessed only with a competency of worldly riches, sufficient to preserve an honest report amongst their neighbours: their greatest blessing appeared in the gift of this gracious infant. His father's name was Gerard Calvin; a man much esteemed of the nobility inhabiting Aquitaine, because he was a singular politician, approving his judgment and advice



JOHN CALVIN.



touching the administration of the commonwealth; desiring his presence wheresoever that they consulted about serious affairs and important matters of state: whereby it came to pass that his son, [John] Calvin, was brought up in his youth with the sons of the eminentest persons in that country. His mother was called Joanna Franca.

These children * he accompanied unto Paris, for the increasing of his learning; where he had Maturinus Corderius for his tutor, a man much reverenced for his internal and external qualities, and esteemed the best for the instruction and bringing up of youth within the realm of France. The reason why his father brought him up in learning, was because he perceived a voluntary inclination in his son thereunto; which appeared two manner of ways: first, because in his youth he was religiously given; and secondly, because it was observed that he was a sharp reprover of vice in his schoolfellows. These were sufficient testifications unto his father: wherefore, when he came to some maturity of age, his father so wrought with the bishop of Noviodunum [Noyon], that he had a canon's place in the cathedral church, and also a cure in a parish near adjoining, where it is thought that he preached many sermons, although not advanced to the ministerial function. But this proceeding continued not long, partly by reason of his father's desire, who was earnest with him to addict himself unto the study of the civil law, a surer step unto wealth and preferment; and partly by the persuasion of Robertus Olivetanus, (a man well deserving of the French churches, for the doing of

* [The children of the *Mommorii* family, with whom he had been educated, though at his father's expense.—Ed.]

the Hebrew Bible into French,) who willed him to give himself wholly unto the reading of the Sacred Scriptures, and to separate himself from those superstitions which were odious in the sight of God.

Being willing to testify his obedience unto his father, he therefore left his cure, and went to Orleans, where he became an auditor unto Petrus Stella, then public professor in that place, and reputed to be the soundest civilian then living in France; by which means he attained unto great perfection in that art, so as he seemed in short time to be rather a teacher than an auditor, and would many times supply the places of the professors themselves; by which means he gained so great love in the academy, that at his departure from Orleans they proffered to confer freely on him the dignity of Doctor in the Civil Law. This is also remarkable in the prosecution of his father's will, he was not forgetful of the counsel of his kinsman Olivetanus, so as withal he diligently gave himself unto the study of divinity; in which also he attained unto such perfection, that those inhabitants of Orleans who were touched with a desire of a more pure religion would resort unto him to have private conference with him, greatly admiring both his zeal and knowledge during his residence in that academy. Besides his daily exercises, he used to spend half the night in reading, and the morning following he would meditate a while in his bed on that which he had read; by which constant watchfulness, as it was a means of furnishing him with solid learning and with a retentive memory, so it was also a means of procuring unto him many diseases, and at the length untimely death.

About this time the academy at Bordeaux was

famous for the presence of that prince of lawyers, Andreas Alciatus, who came out of Italy to be their public professor; whereupon Calvin left Orleans and came to Bordeaux, where he acquainted himself with Alciatus, and also with Melchior Volmarus, then public professor of the Greek tongue; whose learning, piety, and other virtues, together with his admirable dexterity in the bringing up of youth, cannot receive [sufficiently] worthy commendations. Of this Volmarus, Calvin learned here the Greek tongue; and a thankful remembrance of which benefit he hath recorded unto future ages, by dedicating unto him his Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Whilst he studied this tongue, he laid not aside the study of divinity, but made it his only aim, as it appeared by his actions: for, during his continuance in Bordeaux, he would entreat Volmarus to walk with him into the country, and to be an auditor unto his sermons; which were approved by him, with no less than an astonished admiration.

Here he continued earnestly prosecuting his studies with all diligence, until such time as he was called home by his father's death; where he continued no longer space but until that he had put off the days of mourning, and then he went again unto Paris, where, at the age of twenty-four years, he wrote a commentary upon that book of Seneca, *De Clementiâ*. He had not continued long here, but his worth procured him the favour and love of such zealous persons as desired a reformation; and especially the love of Stephanus Forgeus, an honourable merchant, who afterwards suffered martyrdom for the truth of Christ. In this academy he forsook the study of human learning, and betook himself wholly

unto the study of divinity, to the exceeding joy of such godly persons who durst not to discover their profession to the world, because of the strength of their enemies, but kept their private assemblies in Paris.

During his residence here Nicolaus Copus, the son of Gulielmus Copus, of Basil, the king's physician, was designated rector of [the University of] Paris; who being to deliver his oration, according unto the custom, the same day that religious acts were celebrated by the pope, he requested Calvin to perform it for him; who willingly condicended [agreed] thereunto, and in his oration he discoursed more freely concerning the purity of religion than others in that place had formerly done. This act being not well brooked by the senate, they call a parliament, and the rector is summoned to appear. In his journey thither he was admonished by some of his friends to take heed unto himself, because he wanted neither many nor powerful enemies. He, taking these words into a deep consideration, returns back again, departs out of the kingdom, and conveys himself to Basil. Neither was Calvin free from danger in this act: for some were sent into the school which is called Fortretum [Fortret], where his lodging was; but finding him not within, they brake open the doors of his study, take such papers as they find, and amongst them many letters which were sent by zealous persons unto him, whereby they also were brought into great danger of their lives; but they were all delivered by the means of the queen of Navarre, who honourably received and entertained Calvin in her house, and became an auditor unto his sermons.

Having continued here a while under the protec-

tion of the queen, he shapes his course towards Neracum [Nerac], a city in Aquitaine, to visit Jacobus [Faber] Stapulensis, who was protected and defended by the queen for the same cause, and therefore placed in that city under her dominion. This old man having a certain relation from him how all things went, he most courteously entertained him; was right glad to confer with him; and withal spending this judgment on him, that he would be an excellent instrument for the establishing of the kingdom of Christ within the kingdom of France.

Having continued a few days with this Jacobus, he returns again to Paris, being led thereunto by the hand of God, for the purging of the city of that damned heresy of Servetus concerning the Trinity; but, after long expectation and secret hiding of himself, he was constrained again to leave the city without the effecting of any thing; the enemies of the truth still labouring to take away his life.

In the year 1534 Gerardus Ruffus and Coraldus, zealous professors of the truth of Christ, and labouring to promote the Gospel in France, were with great cruelty pulled down out of their pulpits, and cast into prison: and the king was so enraged, by reason of certain writings opposing the mass, which were scattered up and down the city, and fastened unto the door of his bedchamber, that, after public prayers, he commanded (at the which he himself was present, together with his three sons, being bare-headed, and holding a burning torch, for expiation's sake) eight persons, supposed to be guilty of that act, to be burned alive; and in the presence of the people he bound himself with a solemn oath, that he would not spare his own children, if he should but know

that they were infected with that most horrible and damned heresy.

Calvin, beholding the miserable state and condition of things, resolved to leave France; revealing his intent unto an intimate friend of his, with whom he was formerly acquainted during his residence with the queen of Navarre; who, out of his singular affection unto Calvin, promised to accompany him in his journey. Wherefore they forthwith prepare for Basil, committing their money unto the custody of one of their servants, who, being well horsed, and espying an opportunity answering his wicked intent, leaves them to shift and to provide for themselves. And doubtless they had been driven into greater distress, had not the other servant furnished them with ten crowns, which he had about him, by means whereof they came at length to Basil.

Here he found Symones [Simon] Grynæus and Wolfgangus Capito, who received him with great joy, where he continued and gave himself unto the study of the Hebrew tongue. Here he also set forth his "Institutions," a laborious and learned work, and well worthy of the author; with a preface most excellent unto the king of France; which if he had read, it had without doubt given a great wound unto the Popish religion: but the sins of that king and of that nation were so great, and vengeance so near at hand, that leave was not given unto them by the Lord to peruse the same.

Having set forth this book, and in some sort performed his duty to his country, he left Basil, and went into Italy, to visit the daughter of the king of France, a virtuous and a godly princess, whom he there confirmed and strengthened in her religious course of

life, whereby she greatly affected him during the time of his life, and also made a kind testification of the same unto the world after his death. Hence he returned again into France, with an intent to go for Germany; but, in regard of the wars, passages were shut up, that he could not travel; and therefore he turned into Geneva, not thinking to make any residence at all in that place; but, by the observation of future actions, it is evident that he was guided thither by the hand of God. Into this city, not long before his coming, the Gospel of Christ was wonderfully brought, and that by the labour and industry of two famous divines, viz., Gulielmus Farellus, sometimes scholar unto Jacobus [Faber] Stapulensis, and Petrus Viretus, whose labours were abundantly blessed by the Lord. Calvin going for to visit these Genevan lights, he was entertained by Farellus with a long discourse, who, thereby discovering the excellency of his parts, desired him to remain at Geneva, and to be an assistant to him in that place for the advancing of the truth of Christ. But when he saw that Calvin could not easily be drawn and persuaded thereunto, and being a man of a bold spirit, he said unto him after a vehement manner, "I pronounce unto thee, in the name of the living and all-powerful God, that, unless thou join with us in this work of the Lord, it will come to pass that He will curse thee, as one that seeketh more his own than the glory of Christ."

Calvin being astonished with this terrible sentence and speech of Farellus, he forthwith submitted himself unto the pleasure of the presbytery and magistrates; by whose voices, and consent of the people, he was not only chosen to be a preacher, but was also

designated to be their divinity lecturer, and graced with the title of Doctor, in the year 1536; which year also is remarkable for that league concluded betwixt the cities of Berne and Geneva, touching Divine worship; and also for the conversion of the inhabitants of Lausanne unto Christ.

The first thing which he attempted, after his admission into this city, was a more exact reformation in the church; and for that cause [he] drew a compendium of Christian religion and form of doctrine, unto which he laboured to have the inhabitants to subscribe, and to bind themselves by an oath to abjure the superstitious doctrine of Rome, and to defend the same with their lives. This motion was refused by many at the first; yet not long after, (God so disposing,) even in the year 1537, the senate and people of Geneva took their oaths for the defence of the same.

The ground being thus laid, there wanted not enemies, and those bitter ones, to oppose him in his proceedings. For, first, the Anabaptists began to sow their erroneous opinions in the hearts of many, to the great detriment of the church. But these were so confuted by Calvin in public disputation appointed by the senate, that scarcely any one of them appeared afterwards in the city. The other disturber of the peace and happiness of that church was Petrus Caroli, born at Sarbona;* who, as she brought him forth an impudent sophister, so she cast him out again as a more wicked heretic. Being thence cast out, he came to Geneva, accompanied with the spirit of the devil. When he saw himself to be sharply reproved of the inhabitants, he went

* [Not *born at*, but *brought up at*, the Sorbonne,—*mater Sorbona*.—Ed.]

unto their enemies; and from thence he returned unto Geneva again, intending to leave behind him some expressions of his worse than diabolical opinions; and for that cause he first began openly to accuse Farel, Calvin, and Viret, of a misconceived opinion concerning the Trinity; whereupon a synod was called at Berne, wherein that calumny of Petrus Caroli was condemned.

But that which struck the greatest stroke for the crushing of these hopeful beginnings, was the intestine dissensions and seditions in the city, who would not endure this new form of government. These Farel and Calvin began first to correct with mild admonitions; and when they saw that would not prevail, they used more severe and sharper reprehensions; which many not brooking, the city came to be divided, and many renounced that oath which they had formerly made: in respect of which actions Calvin and Farel, with an undaunted courage, openly protested that they could not lawfully administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper unto them, by reason of the disagreements amongst themselves, and by reason of their alienation from all ecclesiastical discipline.

There also happened unto this another evil, viz., a difference betwixt the churches of Geneva and Berne, about some ceremonies; which because it could not presently be concluded on by the synod at Lausanne, but was referred unto another appointed at Tigurum [Zurich], the commissioners, unpatient of delay, assembled the people together, and persuaded them to command Farel, Calvin, and Coraldus to depart the city within two days, because they had refused to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to them. Which message when it was delivered unto

Calvin, he replied, "Indeed, if I had served men, I had been evilly rewarded; but now it shall go well with me, because I have served Him who will truly pay unto His servants that which He hath once promised."

Who could otherwise have thought but that this action would have proved fatal unto the church of Geneva? Yet the event manifested the contrary, and showed that it came to pass by Divine Providence; partly because that, by exercising him with these trials, he might be the more fitter for weightier matters; and partly because he might purge that church again from many gross and wicked errors, when that sedition had overthrown and sunk itself with its own weight. So wonderfully doth the Lord appear in all His works, but more especially in the governing and protection of His church.

Some there were who greatly bewailed the departure of these faithful pastors, who also inwardly as much lamented the miserable and wretched state of that city. From Geneva they went unto Tigurum [Zurich], where a synod was called to effect a reconciliation betwixt the churches; and those of Geneva being willed by an ambassador sent from Berne to subscribe unto the decrees thereof, they would not condiscend [consent] thereunto. Whereupon Calvin left Tigurum and went unto Basil; where after that he had remained two or three days, he directed his course unto Strasburg, where he was called by the senate, Bucer, Hedio, Capito, and many other reverend pastors, to be the divinity lecturer in that city; which he did not only perform with the applause of all the learned, but also, with the consent of the senate, he planted the French church in that city.

Here Calvin remained until the year 1541, in

which year a convocation was enacted by the emperor at Worms and Reinspurg [Ratisbon], for the taking away of differences out of those churches concerning religion. At which convocation Calvin was present; and unto this assembly came also the commissioners before mentioned, who persuaded and prevailed with the inhabitants of Geneva for the casting out of Calvin out of the city. Upon one of them God showed a terrible example of vengeance in the same place; for, being censured guilty of sedition, as he was about to save himself by escaping through a window, he fell down headlong, and with the weight of his body he so crushed himself that within few days after he died. Another of them being found guilty of murder, he had his head stricken off. The other two, by reason of their ill carriage in the affairs of that commonwealth, were in their absence condemned and ejected by the citizens.

During his abode at Strasburg, until this assembly called by the emperor, the church at Geneva was greatly afflicted with sundry opinions, which were brought into the city in the year 1539 by Jacobus Sadoletus; which notwithstanding took no deep rooting, Calvin by his letters in his banishment persuading the contrary.

These commissioners being thus taken away, as the fountains of all sedition in the city, it pleased the Lord to work a desire in the hearts of the inhabitants of recalling Farel and Calvin into the city. But when they saw that they could not possibly recall Farel from Neocomum [Neufchatel], they send ambassadors with all speed unto Strasburg, making the Tigurines [people of Zurich] also their intercessors for the obtaining of Calvin.

The inhabitants of Strasburg appeared unwilling to grant their desire; and Calvin himself, because he saw his actions to prosper and to be blessed of God in that city, refused also himself to go unto Geneva, fearing lest his proceedings should be again hindered by the like seditious uproars.

The ambassadors were urgent, and followed their matter so close that at the last it was concluded that Calvin should [go] again to Geneva; but, because he was to accompany Bucer unto Reinspurg [Ratisbon], his journey was deferred for a space, and they of Geneva procured Viret from Lausanne to preach unto them, until the return of Calvin from Reinspurg; which fell out in the year 1541, when he was received with exceeding joy and gladness, not only by the senate, but also by all the inhabitants; and he was again restored unto his church.

But at his entrance again, he told them, that he could not truly discharge his ministerial function, unless they would also entertain a presbytery, strengthened with ecclesiastical discipline, together with his doctrine: unto which motion they consented; whereupon a presbytery was chosen, their offices were declared unto each of them; and unto this form of government they all subscribed.

The joyful news of Calvin's coming unto Geneva again being spread abroad, it caused many godly-minded persons to resort, some out of Italy, some out of England, some out of Spain, unto the same place, to be auditors unto him. These increased unto that number, that there was not room in the city to entertain them; and Calvin perceiving that ordering of all things in the city would be a labour too weighty for him, he desired that he might have Farel and

Viret adjoined unto him. But it could not be granted; for Viret was returned again unto Lausanne, and Farel was detained at Neocomum [Neufchatel]; so as Calvin alone carries away the glory of that Reformed church.

It was Beza's opinion concerning these three, that a complete pastor might be composed of them; taking boldness from Farel, eloquence from Viret, and solid substance from Calvin, every word appearing a grave sentence.

In the year 1542 Calvin was exercised with many laborious employments; not only concerning the affairs of Geneva, but also about the comforting and relieving of such as were banished their country for the profession of the Gospel; and also by writing consolatory letters unto them, for their confirmation and strengthening in the extremity of their afflictions. Unto these also were added, first, a famine; secondly, a pestilence; both being predominant at one and the same time in Geneva. Now, because the custom of the city was to place such as were infected in a pesthouse, for that cause erected without the city; one Blanchetus took upon him the charge of visiting the sick; and Calvin by the command of the senate was delivered from that action.

Then he turned himself unto the suppressing of such false doctrine as crept into the church for the eclipsing of the truth. And first he confuted that opinion of Petrus Tossanus, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Then he confuted the articles set forth at Sorbonne. He overthrew Albertus Pighius concerning free-will; refuted the opinion of Sebastianus Castellio concerning the Song of Solomon, and caused him to be banished the city of Geneva.

In the year 1544 Carolus [Charles] V., intending to make war against the French king, commanded a peace amongst the churches in Germany, until such time as a general council was called, which he promised should shortly be effected, and in the mean time granted unto them liberty of conscience; which when it came to the ears of Paulus III., pope of Rome, he sharply reproved the emperor, saying, that he esteemed of heretics as highly as of Catholics, and and that he seemed to thrust in his sickle into another man's harvest. The emperor answered, that he was persuaded that his act was just. And Calvin perceiving the truth of the Gospel to be deeply wounded by these letters, he sharply reproved the boldness of the pope. In this year also there was a convocation at Spire; whereupon Calvin took occasion of writing his book, intituled, *De Necessitate reformandæ Ecclesiæ.* And in the same year also he refuted the Anabaptists and Libertines; and that with such invincible arguments, that none, reading and observing his work, can (unless wittingly and willingly) be deceived and seduced by them. But the queen of Navarre was greatly offended with that work of his against the Libertines, because he had particularly reproved Quintinus and Pocquetus, two ringleaders of that sect, and not of small account with her majesty. Calvin being informed of this, he so wisely and discreetly behaved himself that he gained again the favour of the queen; and withal caused that impious and blasphemous sect to be banished out of France, who afterwards seated themselves in Amsterdam, the prime town in Holland.

In the year 1545, by the conspiracy of some wicked and evilly-disposed persons, the thresholds and posts

of the doors in Geneva were done over with an ointment so strongly composed of poison, that whosoever touched it, death immediately followed; and from this also proceeded a raging pestilence in the city, whereby an infinite number of souls were swept away. This accident procured great envy unto Calvin from all places; yet at the last some of the authors of this inhuman act were discovered, and suffered worthy punishment for the same. In this year also he laboured to remove the false opinion of Osiander concerning the Lord's Supper, out of the church; and also the errors of the Nicodemites, and many other gross opinions which hindered the growth of the truth of Christ. In which proceedings he was abundantly blessed by the Lord, who never permitted his enemies to have their pleasure of him, by taking away his life, which they intended; and more especially he sheltered him from the fury of Amedenus Perrinus, a captain of great authority in the city, but deprived for that fact of his office.

These continued dissensions and defamations in the church at Geneva were motives which drew Farellus and Viretus unto the same place; who in the year 1548 delivered before the senate an eloquent and learned oration, concerning the suppression of sedition, and the taking away of differences out of the church. The motion was approved of all; and Perrinus, having hopes thereby to attain again unto his former preferment, consented thereunto. But he soon discovered his wicked intent; for he was no sooner graced with his former dignity, but he and many others burst forth into reproachful speeches against Calvin, and after a disgraceful manner, calling his dog by the name of Calvin: others style him

by the name of Cain; and some, by reason of that violent and fierce hatred which they conceived against him, they would absent themselves from the communion, and so draw down a double vengeance on themselves.

In the midst of these evils (which were of force to have caused him to have forsaken the city) he constantly performed his ministerial office; and at vacant times he enlightened Paul's Epistles with learned commentaries. He also most learnedly laid open and discovered the falsity and vanity of judiciary astrology. He comforted Brentius living as a banished man at Basil, and also Bucer in England.

And this is also remarkable, that, notwithstanding the daily increasing of these contentions, the church did wonderfully flourish in Geneva; and also it enjoyed some peace and quietness, till the year 1551; for then there sprung up a company of factious fellows, who denied the privileges of the city unto such as were banished for the truth, and fled to that place for succour: and being persuaded by Calvin, in a sermon preached for that purpose, to grant the privileges of the city unto them, he was well beaten for his pains as soon as he came out of the pulpit. These stirred up also another tumult in the temple of St. Gervase, because the minister refused to baptize a child by the name of Balthazar. Calvin, not forgetting his late kindness received, was contented with patience to let it pass. In this year the city was also much troubled with that blasphemous heresy of Servetus; who by the means of Calvin was apprehended and convicted; but, remaining obstinate in his opinion, he was burned alive in the same city.

The cause of Servetus being as yet in hand, one of

the factious company, called Bertelerius, an impudent and wicked fellow, (whom the presbytery had forbidden to come unto the Lord's table, by reason of his ill-led life,) and excommunicated, came unto the senate, and desired his absolution; which he persuaded himself was sufficient. Calvin earnestly opposes this action of the senate, declaring unto him that he ought to be a defender and maintainer, and not a violator of holy and good laws. Yet Bertelerius prevailed with the senate; and he [had] granted unto him his absolutory letters. Perrinus, by the imitation of Bertelerius, thought to take Calvin in a trap; and either to raise a tumult against him, if he would not obey the senate; or if he consented, then to disannul the authority of the presbytery. Calvin being fore-admonished of this intent, in his sermon before the communion, in the presence of both of them, he uttered these words with great fervency: "But I, imitating Chrysostom, will rather suffer myself to be slain, than that this hand shall reach the holy things of the Lord unto such as are apparently known to be the contemners and despisers of Him:" which wrought such an impression in them, that they durst not presume to come unto the Lord's table. Nay, it is probable that he was at that time fearful of his life; for he preached as if they never afterwards should have heard him again.

In this troublesome state the church of Geneva continued unto the year 1555; wherein a conspiracy was happily discovered, by which means most of the factious persons were put to death, and banished the city. By which example of Divine vengeance, others were delivered and kept in awe, and that commonwealth freed from many inconveniences. Yet in the

same year the errors of Servetus seemed to revive again, and to be nourished by Matthæus Gribaldus, an excellent lawyer, who came unto Geneva, and would willingly have been familiar with Calvin; which he most willingly would have embraced, so as he would have consented with him in the article of the Trinity.

The same year also yielded much sorrow unto Calvin, in regard that persecution raged in many places, and especially in England; which took away Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and afterwards Cranmer, men of incomparable piety; whereby the propagation of the truth was hindered. There happened also other causes of discontent, as the faction of some neighbouring pastors, bewitched with the instigation of that Carmelite, Bolsecus, who bitterly inveighed against him concerning predestination; whereupon he obtained leave of the senate to go unto Berne, to be censured by the church concerning that point: in which censures the adversaries being found guilty, they were expelled and banished the country; and he found favour, and was in great estimation amongst the best.

In the year 1556 Calvin preaching in Geneva, he was taken so strongly with an ague that he was forced to leave in the midst of his sermon, and to come down from the pulpit. Upon this accident news was spread abroad concerning his death, which in short space came unto Rome; and it was so joyfully entertained by the pope, that he forthwith caused public prayers and thanksgivings to be dedicated unto God in all the church for the same. But the prayers of the faithful prevailed more; for he was so far from dying, that, being as it were endued with another

life, he went unto Frankfort* *ad Mœnum* [on the Main], being thereunto called for the removing the dissensions out of the churches of France. Whence returning, although somewhat sickly, yet he ceased not to execute his constant course in his ministry; and also he carefully and timely confuted the heretical opinion of Valentinus Gentilis, touching three Gods and three Eternals, lest by continuation it should take such root that it would hardly be plucked up.

And these were his actions until the year 1558, wherein it pleased God to afflict him with a quartan ague, which caused great sorrow and lamentation in Geneva; yet it continued within him but for the space of eight weeks; in which time it weakened and so enfeebled his body, that he was never sound until the day of his death. During this sickness he was advised by the physicians and some of his friends, to forbear his usual exercises, and to cherish his body with a little ease; but he would not, declaring unto them that he could not endure an idle life.

In the year following, Henry, king of France, intended to level Geneva with the ground, and to put the inhabitants thereof to the sword: but before he could effect that bloody project, he was taken captive by a higher Power; and the city still flourished, even in the midst of her enemies. And that nothing might be wanting unto her prosperous and flourishing state, Calvin caused a school to be erected, and consecrated

* [Amongst many amusing typographic blunders in the original edition, the one committed in this place deserves special chronicling on account of its perverse ingenuity. The clause is misprinted thus: "he went unto *France, fuet ad Mœnum;*" which latter words the printer seems to have considered as a classical quotation.—Ed.]

unto the great God, which should always be furnished with learned ministers and public professors of the arts and tongues, and especially of divinity; that so the city might enrich itself with its own treasure.

In the year 1560 the Waldenses sent unto Calvin for his judgment concerning some points; wherein he gave them abundant satisfaction, and exhorted them to join themselves with the other Protestant churches. And at the same season many Protestants in France hearing of the peace and quietness which the church in England enjoyed at the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, many of them came into England, and desired of Edmund Grindal, the lord bishop of London, that they might have leave to send for a preacher unto Geneva, for the planting of the French church in London; who condiscended [consented] thereunto. Galasius was sent.

Calvin having spent his days hitherto in extraordinary labours, (for his life may well be said to be a continued labour mixed with grief, as appeareth by the works which he wrote being at Geneva,) the time was now at hand in which he must go unto his eternal rest. His diseases, contracted by his indefatigable labours, caused him to give over his Divine exercises; for, indeed, how could he continue long? whenas his body was by nature weak and lean, inclining to a consumption; and because he slept very little, spending almost all the year either in preaching, teaching, or dictating. For ten whole years he never dined, and after the set hour he would not receive his supper. He was subject unto the disease called the *migram*,* for the curing of which he used

* [Or *megrim*,—French, *migraine*,—from the Latin *hemicrania*; the pain being supposed to affect *half* the head.—Ed.]

nothing but fasting, and that sometimes for the space of six-and-thirty hours. After that his quartan ague left him, he was troubled with the gout taking him in his left leg; which, to make it the more grievous, was seconded with the colic. The physicians applied what remedies they could, and he carefully followed their counsel. He was armed against these afflictions with an admired patience, no man ever hearing him uttering a word unworthy of himself in his greatest extremity; but, lifting up his eyes unto heaven, he would cheerfully utter the words of David, "How long, O Lord?" When he was exhorted by his friends to desist from reading or writing in the time of sickness, he would reply, "What! will you have the Lord find me idle?"

Not long before his death, some of his fellow pastors coming accordingly as they used to visit him, they found him, contrary to their expectation, apparelled, and sitting at his table in that form as he used to meditate: resting his head on his hand, he spake these words unto them: "I thank you, brethren, for the care which you have over me; but I hope that within these fifteen days the Lord will reveal how He intends to dispose of me; and I think that I shall leave you, and be received of Him."

Growing weaker and weaker, he was brought into the senate's court by his command; where after an humble manner he thanked the senate for the courtesies formerly conferred on him, and for the special care which they had of him in this his last sickness. Not long after, he received the communion at the hands of Beza, labouring the best that he could to join with the rest of the congregation in singing of Psalms unto God.

The day wherein he died, he seemed to speak somewhat heartily; but this was but the last struggling of nature; for about eight of the clock apparent signs of death were seen: which being perceived of Beza, he ran forth to acquaint his other colleagues with it; but before his return he had quietly yielded his soul into the hands of God, leaving such a cheerful countenance unto the beholders, that he seemed rather to be asleep than dead. Thus was that light taken away, even at the setting of the sun. The day following, there was great lamentation throughout the city. The church lamented for the death of her faithful pastor; the school sorrowed for the loss of so famous a doctor; and, in general, all were filled with mourning, because they were deprived of their only comforter, next unto God.

Many of the citizens desired to behold him after that he was dead, so great was their affection to him; and some strangers also, whom the fame of Calvin had drawn unto that place, and amongst them the English ambassador for France, desired greatly to see him being dead: but it could not be granted, lest it might raise a scandal on him amongst the Papists. He was buried in the common churchyard, without any extraordinary pomp, and without any grave-stone laid over him; for which cause Beza wrote these funeral verses:—

Romæ ruentis terror ille maximus,
Quem mortuum lugent boni, horrescunt mali;
Ipsa à quo potuit virtutem discere Virtus,
Cur adeò exiguo ignotoque in cespite clausus
Calvinus lateat, rogas?

Calvinum assiduè comitata modestia vivum,
Hoc tumulo manibus condidit ipsa suis.
O te beatum cespitem tanto hospite!
O cui invidere cuncta possint marmora!

"How happens it that this is Calvin's share,
To lie under this little, unknown pare?
Is not this he who living did appear
Decaying Rome's continued dread and fear?
Whose death the godly doth with sorrow fill,
And at whose name the wicked tremble still?
Whose life was known to be so holy, clear,
That Virtue might have learn'd a lesson here?

'T is true, but know that humble modesty,
Which in his life did him accompany,
That hath ordain'd this green and turfy cover,
On his deceased corpse to be laid over.
But since thou coverest such an one as he,
How can the marbles all but envy thee?"

A little before his death, he delivered an excellent oration unto the senate, unto which was also added a serious exhortation unto all the pastors of Geneva. His works which he hath set forth for the general good of the church, which are sufficient declarations of his worth, are these which follow.

COMMENTARIES UPON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. Upon Genesis. 2. A Harmony upon the four Books of Moses. 3. Upon Joshua. 4. Upon the Psalms.

LECTURES.

1. Upon Jeremiah. 2. Upon the twenty-first of

Ezekiel. 3. Upon Daniel. 4. Upon the Lesser Prophets.

UPON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

1. His Harmony on the Evangelists. 2. His Comment on the Acts. 3. On all Paul's Epistles. 4. On the Hebrews. 5. On Peter, James, John, Jude.

HIS SERMONS.

1. Upon Deuteronomy. 2. Upon the Decalogue. 3. Upon Job. 4. Upon Psalm cxix. 5. Upon the Canticles. 6. Upon thirty-eight Chapters of Isaiah. 7. Upon the eight last Chapters of Daniel. 8. Upon the Nativity, Passion, Death, Resurrection, Ascension of Christ. 9. Upon God's Election and Providence. 10. Upon the First of Kings. 11. Upon Joshua.

OTHER WORKS.

1. His Institutions. 2. Upon the Eucharist. 3. Upon the Victory of Jesus. 4. Genevan Catechism. 5. Of Reforming Churches. 6. Of Scandals. 7. Of Free-Will. 8. Against Anabaptists; 9. Libertines; 10. Sorbonnists. 11. Against Judicial Astrology. 12. Of Predestination. 13. Of a true Communicant. 14. Part of Seneca enlightened with a Commentary. 15. His Answer unto Sadolet's Epistle.

Had we but such Reformers in our days
As Calvin was, we should have cause to praise
Their blest endeavours: but, alas! our times
Are daily acting (not reforming) crimes.
Heroic Calvin's heart was always true
To truth, and still would give the church her due.
His soul was truly willing to take pains
More for the public good than private gains.

His life was fill'd with troubles; yet his mind
(Even like the glistering glowworm) always shined
Brightest, when most surrounded with the night
Of sad afflictions. Calvin's whole delight
Was in the law of God, from which his heart,
Being steel'd with truth, could not be moved to start.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF WILLIAM FARELLUS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1565.

William Farellus was born in the Delphinate [Dauphiny], of a noble family, *anno Christi* 1489; and sent to Paris to be brought up in learning; and was one of the first that made a public profession of the Gospel in France. But when persecution arose, he fled into Helvetia [Switzerland], where he grew into familiarity with Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, and Hallerus. *Anno Christi* 1524 he went to Basil, where he proffered a public disputation with the Popish divines of that place; but the masters of the university would not suffer it, till the senate interposed their authority, and then Farellus set up his theses publicly, which he also maintained by disputation. But the bishop and his associates drove him from Basil. From thence he went to Montpelier, and to some other places; where he preached the Gospel with so much fervour and zeal, that all might see that he was called of God thereunto. He coming to Metin [Metz] preached in the churchyard belonging

to the Dominicans, who by ringing their bells thought to have drowned his voice; but, having a strong voice, he did so thunder it out that he went on audibly to the end of his sermon.

Anno Christi 1528 he with Virete went to Geneva, where they planted the church, and propagated the Gospel; and where, by his earnest obtestation, Calvin was forced to make his abode. *Anno Christi* 1553 the Genevans, though they owed themselves to him, yet were carried on with such fury that they would have condemned Farel to death. And afterwards they did such things against him, that Calvin wished that he might have expiated their anger with his blood. And from thence he went to Neocome [Neufchatel], where he discharged his pastoral office with singular diligence and zeal. When he heard of Calvin's sickness, he could not satisfy himself, though he was seventy years of age, but he must go to Geneva to visit him. He survived Calvin one year and odd month, and died aged seventy-six years, *anno Christi* 1565. He was very godly, learned, innocent in life; exceeding modest, stout, and sharp of wit; and of such a strong voice that he seemed to thunder in his speech; and so fervent in prayer that he carried his hearers into heaven with him.

Renowned Farel lived a life
Not spotted with the stains of strife:
He loved the thoughts, the name of Peace:
His virtues had a large increase.
Earth was his scorn, and heaven his pride:
In peace he lived, in peace he died.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF VERGERIUS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1565.

Peter Paul Vergerius [was] excellently learned both in the law and Popish divinity. He was sent by Pope Clement VII. as his legate into Germany, to improve his uttermost abilities to hinder a national council; where accordingly he bestirred himself to hinder and endamage the Lutherans, and to encourage the Popish divines in opposing of them. *Anno Christi* 1534 Paul III. sent for him to Rome, to give him an account of the state [of] affairs in Germany: after which he sent him back into Germany, to promise the princes a general council to be held at Mantua; but withal to prescribe such rules about coming to it, as he knew the Protestant divines would not accept of. He had in charge also to stir up the princes' minds against the king of England, and to proffer his kingdom to whosoever would conquer it, and to try if by any means he could take off Luther and Melancthon from prosecuting what they had begun. *Anno Christi* 1535 he was called home again by the pope; and when he had given him an account of his legation, he was sent presently to Cæsar [Charles V.] to Naples, to stir him up to take arms against the Lutherans.

Anno Christi 1537 he was again sent into Germany; and also, *anno Christi* 1541, to the convention at Worms: after which he was called back to Rome; and the pope, being to make some cardinals, intended to make Vergerius one. But some suggested that he had been so long in Germany that he smelled of a

Lutheran; which made the pope to alter his purpose: which when Vergerius heard of, he went into his own country, purposing to clear himself by answering some of Luther's books. But it pleased God that, whilst he read them with an intent to confute them, himself was converted by them; whereupon he retired himself to his brother the bishop of Pola, and communicated his thoughts to him. His brother at first was much astonished, but after a while was persuaded by him to read and study the Scriptures, especially in the point of justification by faith; whereby it pleased God that he also saw the Popish doctrines to be false; and so they both became zealous preachers of Christ to the people of Istria. But the devil stirred up many adversaries against them, especially the friars, who accused them to the Inquisitors. Whereupon Vergerius went to Mantua, to his old friend, Cardinal Gonzaga: but there he could not stay in safety; whereupon he went to the Council of Trent to purge himself: but the pope by his legate stopped him from being heard there. From thence he went to Venice, and so to Padua, where he was a spectator of the miserable condition of Francis Spira; which so wrought upon him that he resolved to leave his country and all his outward comforts, and to go into voluntary exile, where he might freely profess Christ. And accordingly he went into Rhetia, where he preached the Gospel sincerely, till he was called from thence to Tübingen by Christopher, duke of Würtemberg; where he ended his days, *anno Christi* 1565.

Those Popish errors which at first bore sway
In our Vergerius' heart, were chased away

By the increasing sun of truth : his mind
(Which was before all dross) was [now] refined ;
And, from a cruel enemy, became
A perfect friend, and boldly would proclaim
The real truth ; fear'd not to be withstood.
Thus brave Vergerius turn'd from bad to good.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF STRIGELIUS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 15 9.

VICTORINE STRIGELIUS was born at Kaufbira in Switzerland,* *anno Christi* 1524. His father was Doctor of physic, who died in his son's infancy. When this Strigelius was fit for it, his friends finding him of a prompt and ready wit, they set him to school in his own country, where he quickly drunk in the first rudiments of learning; and so, *anno Christi* 1538, he went to the University of Friburg ; and having studied the arts there for a while, *anno Christi* 1542 he went to Wittenberg, where he was inflamed by God with an ardent desire to know the doctrine of the Reformed churches. For which end he diligently attended on Luther's and Melancthon's lectures, and wholly framed himself to the imitation of Melancthon.

Anno Christi 1544 he commenced Master of Arts; and by the persuasion of Melancthon he taught a

* [Kaufbier, or Kaufbeuren, in Bavaria, in the old "circle" of Swabia,—*Suevia*, which the translator has here rendered "Switzerland."—ED.]

private school at Wittenberg, where he did much good, and gat himself great repute. But when the wars in Germany waxed hot, he left Wittenberg, and went to Magdeburg, and from thence to Erfurt, where he published some orations, being about twenty-two years old. *Anno Christi* 1548 he went thence to Jena; and there he preached; and the year after married a wife, which lived with him but two years. *Anno* 1553 he married again. Whilst he continued there, he had divers disputations with Major* about good works, and with Flacius. But *anno* 1559, the Flacians prevailed so far that he and Aquila, the pastor of Jena, were both cast into prison; the marks whereof he carried to his grave. In prison he fell very sick, insomuch as the prince suffered him to go unto his own house, but yet made him a prisoner there. Christopher, duke of Würtemberg, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse, mediated for his release, and yet could not obtain it: but at last the Emperor Maximilian, interposing his authority, procured it, after he had been a prisoner above three years.

But, perceiving that he could not be in safety in that place, he resolved to depart; which the university understanding, wrote to him, earnestly importuning his stay: to whom he returned thanks for their love, but told them withal, that his life was in continual danger by reason of false brethren, and therefore he was resolved to go where he might do more good. And accordingly from thence he went to Leipsic, where he spent his time in writing upon the Psalms: and having it left to his choice whether to stay at Leipsic, or to go to Wittenberg, (being sent for thither,) he chose to stay where he was, and was

* [Rather, with *Menius* about Major's doctrine.—Ed.]

chosen Professor of Divinity in that university. There he continued his lectures till *an. Christi* 1566, at which time he came to deliver his judgment about the Lord's Supper: whereupon, by the command of the rector of the university, the doors of the college were shut against him, and he not suffered to read any more. Yet they would have restored him to his place, if he would have promised to meddle with that point no more: but [he] refused to make any such promise, and withal complained to the elector of Saxony of the wrong done unto him; from whom he received a sharp answer. And therefore, leaving Leipsic, he went to Amberg in the Upper Palatinate; where, after a short stay, he received letters from the elector Palatine and the university, inviting of him to Heidelberg, whither he presently went, and was made Professor of Ethics: in which place he took very great pains both in reading his lectures and writing. But his body having contracted some diseases by his former imprisonment, *anno Christi* 1569 he fell very sick; whereupon he said, *sperare se finem vitæ suæ adesse, &c.*, "that he hoped that his life was at an end, whereby he should be delivered from the fraud and miseries of this evil world, and enjoy the blessed presence of God and His saints to all eternity. And accordingly presently after he quietly departed in the Lord, *anno Christi* 1569, and of his age 44.

When a resolved heart is once inflamed
With heavenly motions, 't will not be reclaim'd
By easy terms, because a faithful breast
Is fill'd with heaven, and heaven is crown'd with rest.
And had not stout Strigelius's heart
Been steel'd with courage, he had felt the smart

Of a bad conscience; but he still persisted
In what was good, and would not be resisted.
Those wrongs and injuries which he endured
On earth, were by heaven's grand Physician cured.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN BRENTIUS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1570.

JOHN BRENTIUS was born at Wile in Sweveland [Swabia], *anno Christi* 1499. His father was mayor of that city twenty-four years, who carefully brought up his son in learning; and at eleven years old sent him to Heidelberg to school, and at thirteen years old he was admitted into the university, and at fifteen he commenced Bachelor. There also he studied Greek and Hebrew; and was so studious that he usually rose at midnight to his book; whereby he contracted such an habit, that he could never after, whilst he lived, sleep longer than till midnight: the rest of the night he spent in holy meditations; and in his old age he had a candle by his bedside, and deceived the time by writing and meditation. Partly by his diligence, and partly by his acute wit and strong memory, he profited so much both in the arts and tongues, that at eighteen years old he was made Master of Arts.

About this time Luther's books coming abroad, Brentius, by reading of them, came to the knowledge of the truth, which he willingly embraced. And

being desirous to propagate it to others, he began to read upon Matthew, first to some friends of his own college; but his auditors increasing out of other colleges, he was fain to read in the public schools; for which the divines hated him,—because he grew so popular,—saying, that neither was the place fit for divinity lectures, nor he fit for such a work, being not yet in orders. Wherefore, to take away that objection, he entered into orders, and preached often for other men, to the great delight of his hearers. From thence he was called to be a pastor at Halle in Sweveland, where his gravity, gesture, phrase, voice, and doctrine did so please the senate, that though he was but three-and-twenty years of age, yet they chose him to that place; and he carried himself with such gravity, holiness of life, integrity of manners, and diligence in his calling, that none could contemn his youth. And the Lord so blessed his labours there, that many were converted to the truth; yea, amongst the very Popish priests, some of them were converted, others left their places for shame, and went elsewhere. He used much modesty and wisdom in his sermons; and when (in the beginning of his preaching there) the Popish priests railed exceedingly upon him and his doctrine, and the people expected that he would answer them accordingly, he, contrariwise, went on in teaching the fundamental points of religion, and, as he had occasion, he confuted their errors, without bitterness, from clear Scripture arguments; whereby in time he so wrought upon them, that he brought them to a sight of their errors, and to a detestation of their idolatry.

About this time Munzer and his companions rose up, and stirred almost all the boors in Germany to

take arms against the magistrates and rich men; abusing Scripture to justify their proceedings. Whereupon Brentius was in great danger; for many cried out that his opposing of Popery, and casting out the old ceremonies, was the cause of these tumults. And whenas the boors in Halle were risen up, and threatened to besiege the city of Halle, the magistrates and citizens were in such fear that they were ready to fly, or to join with the boors. But Brentius encouraged them, and told them, that if they would take arms, and defend their city, God would assist them, &c. And so it came to pass; for six hundred citizens beat away four thousand of those boors. He also published a book in confutation of their wicked opinions, and showed how dissonant they were to the word of God.

Presently after rose up that unhappy contention between Luther and Zuinglius, about Christ's presence in the sacrament, which continued divers years, to the great disturbance of the church, scandal of the Reformed religion, and hinderance of the success of the Gospel. And when a conference was appointed for the composing of that difference, Luther, Brentius, and some others met with Zuinglius and some of his friends; but, after much debate, they parted without an agreement.

Anno 1530 was the Diet held at Augsburg, unto which the Protestant princes brought their divines with them, and amongst others Brentius; at which time George, marquis of Brandenburg, told the emperor, that he would rather shed his blood, and lose his life, or lay down his neck to the headsman, than alter his religion. Here the divines drew up that famous Confession of Faith, which, from the place, is

called the Augustine Confession. Brentius, at his return home, married a wife, famous for her chastity, modesty, and piety; by whom he had six children. Ulricus, prince of Würtemberg, intending to reform religion in his dominions, thought it the best way first to reform the University of Tübingen; and considering where he might have a fit man for so great and difficult a work, he at last resolved upon Brentius, whom he sent for; and who, with much diligence, prudence, and fidelity, accomplished the same.

In the year 1547 the emperor with his army coming to Halle, Brentius hoped to prevail with the captain that no soldiers should be quartered in his house; but when he came home, he found the soldiers beating at his door, and ready to break it down; and when they perceived that Brentius was master of that house, one of them set a halberd to his breast, threatening to kill him, if the door was not presently opened. Whereupon they were let in, and he caused meat and drink to be prepared for them, and in the mean time conveyed away all his papers; and when he saw the fury and rage of the soldiers, he conveyed himself and family out at a back-door. The next day came a Spanish bishop with his train, and, putting forth the soldiers, he quartered in Brentius's house, searched his study, looked over his papers and letters; and finding some letters to his friends, wherein he justified the Protestant princes in taking arms against the emperor, he presently carried them to the emperor. Whereby Brentius was in great danger, and was fain to hide himself in a very high tower; and not being safe there, he changed his apparel, left his wife and children, and with one only companion passed through the Spaniards safely,

and wandered up and down the fields all that night. But when the emperor was removed with his army, he returned to Halle again.

In the year 1548, when Cæsar [Charles V.] had published his book called the *Interim*, the Protestant princes and magistrates required the judgments of their divines upon it: and the magistrates of Halle desired Brentius to tell them his judgment; who, when he had considered it, told them, that it was a wicked book, and altogether contrary to the Scriptures, and that he would lose his life before he would assent to it. This coming to Cæsar's ears, he sent a commissary to Halle, charging him to bring Brentius to him, either alive or dead. When the commissary came thither, he insinuated himself into Brentius's acquaintance, invited him to his table, persuaded him to walk abroad with him, having prepared horses to carry him away. But that succeeding not, he called the senate together, and, having sworn them to keep private what he should tell them, he imparted his commission, telling them how acceptable it would be to the emperor, if they would send to him Brentius; but if they refused, the emperor would destroy their city, &c. It pleased God that whilst he was thus persuading the magistrates, there came in one later than his fellows; and the commissary, not minding it, did not tender the oath to him. So, when they were dismissed, this man wrote to Brentius, *Fuge, fuge, Brenti, citò, citiùs, citissimè*:* which note was brought him as he sate at supper. Having read it, he told his family that he must go forth upon

* ["Flee, flee, Brentius, quickly,—more quickly,—as quickly as possible!"—Ed.]

business, but would return ere long. As he was going out of the city, he met the commissary, who asked him whither he went. He answered,—To a sick friend in the suburbs who had sent for him, "Well," said the commissary, "to-morrow you must dine with me." He replied, "God willing;" and so they parted.

Being thus escaped, he hid himself in a thick wood, and for some weeks together he lay in the wood all day, and every night came into a village to a friend's house, where he lodged. He wrote also to the magistrates of Halle that if they could and would protect him, he was ready to come back, and not to forsake his flock; but if they could not, he did not desire that they should endanger themselves for his sake. They answered, that they could not protect him, and therefore left him free to go whither he pleased. Presently after Ulricus, prince of Würtemberg, invited him to him, and ordered him to be so private that he himself might not know where he was, that, if he was asked, he might safely deny his knowledge of him. Yet, upon suspicion, his castle was searched; but Brentius was in another place, where in his retirement he wrote a Comment upon the ninety-third Psalm. Afterwards he went to Basil, as to a safer place, where his wife died of a consumption. From thence he removed to the castle of Horrenberg in the Hercynian Wood [Harz Forest], where he changed his name, and gave out that he was the keeper of the castle: and whilst he was there, he frequented the sermons in a neighbour town, where the minister used to spin out his sermons to a great length: whereupon Brentius took occasion modestly to tell him of it; to whom the minister

answered, "You castle-keepers think all time too long at church, but no time too long that you spend in drinking." Brentius, smiling at it, said no more. Whilst he was there, he perfected his Comment upon Isaiah, and some other work. Afterwards he had great proffers made him by the citizens of Magdeburg, by Edward VI., king of England, and by the duke of Borussia [Prussia]; but he refused them all, and thus continued in banishment for the space of two years.

Anno Christi 1550 Ulricus, duke of Würtemberg, died; and his son Christopher succeeding, he resolved to restore the ministers which were driven away by the *Interim* to their charges within his dominions, and to perfect the work of reformation; and, for that end, sent for Brentius, and kept him in his castle of Stuttgart, that he might have his advice and assistance in carrying on of that work. Neither was he discouraged by the admonitions of the princes and bishops, nor by the threats of the garrisons that were about him; but caused Brentius to write a Confession of Faith, and of the doctrine of Christian religion, and about the chief points in controversy, which he intended to send to the Council of Trent.

About that time Brentius married again,—one Catharine Isenmann, a choice woman, who was a great comfort to him all the rest of his life, by whom also he had twelve children. The year after, the pastor of Stuttgart dying, Brentius was chosen in his room: in which place he continued all his life, and carried himself with much sedulity, piety, and prudence, in the same. *Anno Christi* 1557 he was sent by his prince to the conference at Worms; which came to nothing, because the Popish party would not suffer

that the Scripture should be the judge of their controversies.

In his old age he wrote upon the Psalms: and whereas there were many monasteries in Würtemberg, out of which the friars were driven, he persuaded his prince to turn them to schools for the training up youth in learning; which was accordingly done, and once in two years Brentius visited those schools, and took notice how the scholars profited in learning, and encouraged them to make a daily progress therein. He had almost finished his Comment upon the Psalms, whenas his old age, worn out with studies and labours, put a period unto the same; and his end was hastened by grief for the immature death of his prince, for whom he professed that he would willingly have sacrificed all his estate, and his own life also. Falling into a fever, whereby he perceived that his end approached, he made his will, wherein he set down a Confession of his Faith: and sending for the ministers of Stuttgart, he caused his son to read it to them, and requested them to subscribe their hands as witnesses to it. He also received the sacrament, and exhorted them to unity in doctrine, and love amongst themselves. He was exceeding patient in all his sickness, neither by word nor gesture showing the least impatience; always saying, that he longed for a better, even an eternal life. The night before his death he slept sweetly; and when he awaked, the minister repeated the Apostles' Creed, and asked him whether he died in that faith; to whom he answered, "Yea:" which was his last word; and so he quietly resigned up his spirit unto God, *anno Christi* 1570, and of his age 71. He was buried with much honour, and had this epitaph:—

Voce, stylo, pietate, fide, candore probatus,
Johannes tali Brentius ore fuit.

"With voice, style, piety, faith, candour graced,
In outward shape John Brentius was thus faced."

Toss'd in the ship of fortune, Brentius sail'd
From place to place; his courage never fail'd;
But with resolved constancy he bent
His mind to suffer, free from discontent.
The rage of Papists could not make him yield
To their desires; true virtue was his shield;
The strength of his afflictions added strength
Unto his soul; his sufferings had no length,
Except of days, and them he knew to be
But servile subjects to mortality.
Thus, like a patient sufferer, he fled
From earth to heaven, and there reposed his head.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF PETER VIRETUS,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1571.

Peter Viretus was born in the country of the Bernates [Berne]; brought up in learning at Paris, where he began to be acquainted with Farellus. From thence he went to Lusanna [Lausanne], where he was chosen pastor, and spent much of his time in teaching and writing there. And when Calvin was sent to the conference at Worms, *anno Christi* 1541, and from thence to Ratisbon, he obtained of the

senate of Lusanna that Viretus should supply his place at Geneva till his return. And when he came back, he much importuned that Viretus might still continue there, affirming that it would much conduce to the good of the church at Geneva to enjoy his labours. But he would needs return to Lusanna to his former charge: yet afterwards, at the earnest entreaty of the French churches, he went to Lyons; where, in the midst of the civil wars, and the pestilence which followed, he, with his colleagues, governed the church with much prudence; till, by the Jesuits' means, there was a proclamation sent abroad that none but such as were native French should be preachers in the Protestant churches.

Then, at the request of the queen of Navarre, he went to Berne, where he continued until his death, which was in the year 1571, and of his age threescore. He was much bewailed of all good men. Whilst he lived, he was of a very weak constitution, and the rather by reason of poison which a priest had given to him at Geneva; as also because of some wounds that he had received from a priest in another place, where he was left for dead. He was very learned, of a sweet disposition, and so exceeding eloquent that he drew many to be his hearers which were no friends to religion; and they were so chained to his lips that they never thought the time long wherein he preached, but always wished his sermons longer. At Lyons, which was a populous city, he preached in an open place, and turned some thousands to the truth and faith in Christ. Yea, some that passed by, with no purpose to hear his sermon, he did so work upon them, that they neglected their other business to hearken to him.

Reader, observe the malice of his foes,
Who, having not the wisdom to oppose
Brave Viretus by arguments, thought fit
To labour with a diabolic wit
To work his ruin. First by poison they
Contrived his fall; but poison scorn'd to obey
Their base desires, which made them rage and swell
Into a madness, till advised by hell
To a more speedy way, which soon took place
Within their hearts. Being destitute of grace,
They thought it good to employ a Papist, whose arm
Was ready to perform what might prove harm
To harmless Viretus, and with a knife
(As they supposed) deprived him of his life:
But God (the great abhorrer of such crimes)
Preserved rare Viretus for better times.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN JEWEL.

If ever any were happy in the imposition of names in those whom they dedicate to God at the font, certainly they were who christened this holy and learned man John Jewel; for his rare and admirable parts, and both natural and supernatural gifts, were every way corresponding to his gracious and precious name. According to his Christian name, *John*, signifying "grace," he was a *gracious* instrument of Christ, to reform the gold of the sanctuary, which through the negligence or i later times became dim and



JOHN JEWEL.

drossy with superstition. And according to his surname he was a rich *Jewel*, consisting of many gems, shining as well in his life, as his incomparable writings extant, almost in all languages. This great clerk was born at Berrenber,* in the county of Devon: of which it may truly be said, as it was sometimes of Hippo, that Hippo was more ennobled by great St. Austin, than St. Austin by little Hippo. For his education, it was first in Merton and after in Corpus Christi College in Oxford. The former hath proved a famous nursery of philosophy and school divinity; the latter, of the knowledge of tongues and polite literature: in both which our Jewel, showing by his golden thighs what flowers he most sucked and longest sat upon, excelled for an acuter disputant, an eloquenter orator, a more universal scholar, and every way [such] an accomplished divine [as] the church hath not had for many hundreds of years.

The first glistering of this Jewel was in the rhetoric lecture conferred upon him in Corpus Christi College, when he was yet but Bachelor of Arts. This lecture he read with such facility and felicity, that all his auditors perceived that he spake *potius ex arte* than *de arte rhetorice*; "rather from an excellent faculty he had in that flexanimous art, than of the art itself." Neither were these his lectures only strewed as it were with flowers of rhetoric, but richly fraught with all variety of human learning; which drew many auditors unto him from other colleges, and among them his tutor Master Parkhurst, afterwards bishop of Norwich, who took great delight to behold the sparkling of that diamond which himself

* [Buden was his birth-place, in the parish of Berinerber, or Berry Narbor.— Ed.]

had first pointed; and he could not contain his joy, but vented it on the sudden in this extempore *distichon:*

Olim discipulus mihi, chare Juelle, fuisti;
Nunc ero discipulus te renuente tuus.

"Dear Jewel, whilome scholar thou wert mine;
But now against thy will I will be thine."

This his fame and love abroad purchased him envy and hatred at home; for he found shortly after, to his cost, the truth of the philologist's observation concerning truth, virtue, and courtesy,—"Three of the best mothers are often delivered of three of the worst daughters,—truth of hatred, courtesy of contempt, and virtue of envy." *Urit enim fulgore suo,* "The glory of eminent worth dazzleth the infirm eyes of worthless men;" such as at this time the seven seniors and officers of that college were; who, as "the patriarchs, moved with envy, sold Joseph into Egypt," so they, sick of the same malady, expelled Jewel out of the house, more to their own discredit and disadvantage than to his. For, soon after his expulsion, they found a great miss of him in the education of their youth; and his greatest enemies, who cloaked their envy for the present with pretended zeal for the Romish religion, yet after were heard to speak thus of him within themselves: "We should love thee, if thou wert not a Zuinglian: though we believed, Jewel, that thy belief is not sound, yet in thy life thou art an angel." Neither was this all, but when Master Welch, dean of the college, made his brags before Dr. Brooks, sometime Fellow of that college, but then bishop of Gloucester, that they alone had

kept safe their rich copes, cushions, plate, and other ornaments of their chapel: "It is true," quoth Doctor Wright, archdeacon of Oxford, standing by, "you have saved them; but you have lost a more precious ornament of your house, your Jewel."

But the best was, what the college lost, the university found; and, of a private lecturer, made him their public orator, and for the subtraction of his maintenance by the loss of his Fellow's place in the college, that defect was abundantly supplied by the bounty of some of his scholars' parents, who procured for him and conferred upon him a good benefice near Oxford. And now he grows in estate and fame in the university, and grace with all the heads of colleges and halls; but especially he was precious in the eyes of the most renowned doctor of the chair, Peter Martyr, by whom he was presented Bachelor of Divinity. And now nothing seemed to stand in his way from orderly ascending to higher degrees and preferment in the church. But the face of the sky is not more changeable than the condition of our estate in this world: all the fair weather we spake of but now was overcast in a moment. For by the untimely death of Edward VI., and by the succeeding advancement of Queen Mary to the crown, a bitter storm of persecution fell upon the newly reformed church of England, and blew away many of our prime doctors, and other men of eminent worth; and among them our Jewel, who, now banished from his native soil, found yet great comfort in conversing, first at Frankfort with Sir Francis Knowls [Knollys] and his eldest son, Robert Horne, and Edward Sandys; and afterwards at Argentine [Strasburg] with John Poynet, Edmund Grindal, John Cheke,

Anthony Cooke, Richard Morison, Peter Carew, Thomas Wroth, and divers others.

These noble confessors deserve rather the naming, because in this their retiring they seemed, as it were, to fetch their feet, to make the greater leap in England; where, after their return, they were highly preferred,—Grindal to be archbishop first of York, then of Canterbury; Sir Francis Knowls [Knollys] to be privy councillor and lord treasurer; Robert Horne to the bishopric of Winton [Winchester], Sandys of London, Poynet of Worcester; and the rest, all of them to eminent places in the church and commonwealth. To set off their future glory, their present poverty and misery served as a foil. It was yet for the present lamentable to see these men of worth, who had change of houses in their own country, hardly getting a shed to shelter them from wind and weather in foreign parts: they who opened the fountain of their bounty to other men in England, were now constrained in Germany to fetch waters of comfort, drop by drop, from others' conduits. At the first, the pious charity of the Londoners (be it spoken to the honour of that city) was as an unexhausted mine to them, till by Stephen Gardiner it was discovered, and the rich vein stopped by the imprisonment of their chief benefactors. And now these servants of Christ, of whom England at this time was not worthy, were put to many difficult plunges; yet, partly by the comfortable letters of Zuinglius, Peter Martyr, Calvin, Melancthon, Pellican, Lavater, Gesner, and other privy pastors of the Reformed churches beyond the seas, they were held up by the chin; and partly by the charitable contributions of Christopher, prince of Wittenberg [Würtemberg],

and the senators of Zurich, they were so kept above water, as it were, with bladders, that none of them utterly sank in their hope.

And for Jewel in particular, though he were tossed from pillar to post, and sometimes dashed upon one rock, and sometimes upon another, yet in the end he found safe harbour in Peter Martyr's house, first in Argentine [Strasburg], and after in Tigury [Zurich]; where it is hard to say, *utrùm Euripidis ex Archelai an Archelai ex Euripidis familiaritate fama magis inclaruerit*, "whether" Jewel "gave more lustre and reputation to his host, or his host to him." Certain it is, Jewel assisted Peter Martyr in setting forth divers books; and by name, his learned Commentaries upon the Judges. And very fortunate to the church of God was the conjunction of these two stars of the first magnitude; for from them had we the first light to find the track of those who in the former ages and purest time "walked with a right foot to the Gospel," and professed the doctrine of the Reformed churches. Although we must acknowledge our churches very much indebted in this kind to Reynolds, Whitaker, Bilson, Abbot, Chamier, Mornay, and Chemnitius; yet it cannot be denied, that these later kindled their candles at these torches. For Peter Martyr had cleared the judgment of antiquity in the point of the sacrament, and some other controversies between us and the church of Rome; and Jewel in all, before Chemnitius took Andradius to task; or Bilson, Allen; or Reynolds, Hart; or Whitaker, Stapleton; or Abbot, Bishop; or Mornay, [Du] Perron; or Chamier, Bellarmine.

Our Jewel was the first who made a public challenge to all the Papists in the world, to produce but

one clear and evident testimony out of any father or famous writer, who flourished within five hundred years after Christ, for any one of the many articles which the Romanists at this day maintain against us; and, upon good proof of any such one allegation, to yield them the bucklers, and reconcile himself to Rome. And although Harding and some others undertook him, and entered into the lists with him about the controverted articles; yet they came off so poorly, and Jewel on the contrary so amazed and confounded them with a "cloud of witnesses" in every point in question, that as Bishop Godwin upon good ground affirmeth, no one thing in our age gave the Papacy so deadly a wound, as that challenge at Paul's Cross so confidently made and bravely maintained. But this challenge was not now made in the time of Jewel's banishment, but after his return into England. At this time he and many other clear lights of the church were "hid under a bushel," till the fire of persecution of England (in which, not only many faithful brethren, but divers reverend fathers, as Latimer, Cranmer, Ridley, and Hooper, were burned to ashes, for the testimony of the truth) was laved out, partly by the tears of compassionate confessors, pouring out their souls to God in public and private, but especially by the blood of so many noble martyrs.

But as soon as God in justice looked upon the persecutors of the truth, and called Queen Mary, and those who dipped their hands in His saints' blood, to His tribunal, and set Queen Elizabeth upon her sister's throne, that mirror of princes, and paragon of her sex, and phœnix of her age, restoring at the same time preachers to the Gospel, and Gospel to the

preachers themselves; in the first year of her reign [she] commanded a survey to be taken of the whole realm; and, finding in many parts palpable Egyptian darkness, sent for all these concealed lights above mentioned; and after they were fetched from under the bushels which had covered them, she set them in golden candlesticks in all the counties within her dominions; and, among them, Jewel in the diocese of Sarum. Where he shined most brightly for eleven years; and, after his extinction by death, left a most sweet smell behind him, the savour of a good name, much more precious than ointment, for his apostolic doctrine, and saint-like life, and prudent government, and incorrupt integrity, unspotted chastity, and bountiful hospitality.

In his first visitation he began, and in his last he perfected, such a reformation, not only in the cathedral and parochial churches, but in all courts of his jurisdiction, that even those who before esteemed not so well of Jewel as bishops, yet now were brought to have a reverend opinion of bishops for Jewel's sake; for he was a careful overlooker and strict observer, not only of all the flocks, but the pastors also in his diocese, according to the apostle's prescription. First he "attended to" *himself* and his own *doctrine*, and then to all the doctrine which, as he heard, was preached in his see: first he examined his own actions, and then the proceedings of all his inferior officers. The chancellor and archdeacons are, in the count of the law, the bishop's eyes, and his collectors and receivers are his hands: therefore he had a continual eye upon these his eyes, and held a strict hand over these his hands; and if these his eyes caused him to offend, or raised any scandal in his diocese, by winking at

foul abuses and enormities, or these hands by exaction and scraping or taking bribes, he plucked out the one and cut off the other. And if other bishops take not the like course, though in their own persons they be never so innocent and uncorrupt, yet they will never free their see from foul and scandalous aspersions. Iniquity will be committed even in the seat of justice, and carnal vices winked at in spiritual courts, and one corruption be borne out by another, corporal by pecuniary: the heaviest censures of the church will be inflicted upon the lightest offenders, if they offer not to the officiate shrine, and the foulest delinquents will escape away by the postern gate of Juno Moneta's temple: poor gnats, if they be taken in their nets, will be strained to death, and a camel laden with gold swallowed up: and it will be said that churches are visited before they be sick, nay, that they are sick of their visitations; and that all the processes and citations are *ad colligendum*, not *ad corrigendum*, for "collection" of moneys, not for "correction" of manners. To prevent these and the like abuses for which the court Christians hear ill abroad, the good bishop sat often in his Consistory, and saw that all things were carried straight there; neither did he only sit as judge in the Consistory, but also oftentimes as assistant on the bench of justice, informing the judges in such causes where the law of God and of the land seemed to clash, and exhorting the prisoners willingly and patiently to subject themselves to the stroke of justice, but especially to prostrate themselves before the throne of Mercy in heaven; and though they were cast by the jury, and condemned by the law, yet they might be justified by grace, and saved by mercy, at the tribunal of Christ.

What shall I speak of his peaceable ending (for the most part at his table) litigious strifes and contentions, of which it is hard to say whether they more nourished the law, or the law them? So was he thrice "happy" by the judgment of Truth itself, because a threefold peace-maker,—in his Consistory, on the bench, and at his table,—as a judge, justice, and an arbitrator. Yet did he no way forget that *unum necessarium*, which St. Paul so deeply chargeth Timothy before God and His angels to be careful of, to wit, to preach in season and out of season. (1 Cor. ix. 16.) [2 Tim. iv. 1, 2.] I have heard of the Etrurian goddess, that whilst she was clad in a country habit, and worshipped under a shed in the field, she delivered many oracles; but after she was brought into a temple, and clothed with purple and fine linen, she became mute, and gave no answer at all. So it falleth out with many, whose office it is to publish and interpret the oracles of God: like Saul, when they come to the high places, they make an end of prophesying. Jewel did not so, but the more eminent he was in dignity, the more diligent in the work of the ministry; not so much in frequent, as in exquisite, teaching; for, though his sermons were very frequent, yet they were always rare for the matter and manner of his delivery. He never preached *quicquid in buccam*,* but, as Abraham offered to Melchisedec, as St. Jerome renders it, *de præcipuis* or *summitate acervi*, "of the top and best of the heap."

The Roman orator tells us of *negligentia quædam diligens*, "a certain diligent negligence," and learned ignorance; when the speaker carefully shunneth all

* ["Whatever came uppermost."—Ed.]

affectation of art, and laboureth that his speech may not seem elaborate. But the sober and discreet hearer hath often cause to complain of *diligentia quædam negligens*, "a negligent kind of diligence," in many popular preachers, who ascend frequently into the pulpit, but with extemporary provision, are often in travail, but without pain, and delivered of nothing, for the most part, but empty words and idle tautologies; as if sermons were to be valued by the number, and not by the weight. These men's sermons, though they exceed the hour in length, and the days of the week in number, yet they themselves lie open to the curse of the prophet, denounced against all those that do the work of the Lord negligently. From the danger of which malediction Jewel was freest of all his parts and place; for, though he might best of any presume in this kind upon his multiplicity of reading, and continual practice of preaching, yet never would he preach in the meanest village without precedent meditation, and writing also the chief heads of his sermons. And as his tongue was the pen of a ready writer, so was his pen the tongue of a living speaker to all posterity.

When I peruse the catalogue of his sermons, I wonder what time he had to write: again, when I number and weigh his writing, I wonder what time he had to provide for preaching: and when I compare both, I wonder how he could do anything else. Yet did not his constant preaching take him off from his accurate writing, nor both from his discharging each part of his episcopal function in his own person. Which that it may not seem incredible, I will open his day-book, and read out of it how he spent every hour. Rising at four of the clock, after prayers with

his family at five, and in the cathedral about six, he was so affixed to his studies all the morning, that he could not without great violence be drawn from it. After dinner his doors and ears were open to all suitors; and it was observed of him, as it was of Titus, (who was styled *amor et deliciæ humani generis*,) that he never sent any sad from him. Suitors being thus dismissed, he heard with great indifferency and patience such causes debated before him as either were devolved to him as a judge, or referred to him as an arbitrator; and if he could spare any time from these troublesome businesses, he reckoned [it] as clear gain to his study.

About nine of the clock at night he called all his servants to an account how they had spent the day, and then offered up his evening sacrifice together with them to God. From his chapel he withdrew himself again to his study till near midnight, and from thence to his bed; in which after he was laid, the gentleman of his bedchamber read to him till wearied nature shut up the offices of his senses,—long after his porter had locked up the gates of his palace.

This watchful and laborious kind of life, without any recreation at all, save what his necessary refection at his meals, and a very few hours of rest in the night, afforded him, spent the oil of this sweet lamp the faster, and thereby hastened his extinction and death in this world. Which as he foresaw by the spirit, so he foretold by letters to the bishop of Norwich, yet upon record in the works of Dr. Humphrey. And as he foresaw it and foretold it, so accordingly he prepared for it. As a traveller, who hath little day and much way left, spurreth on faster,

that he may reach home by daylight; so he, desirous to finish his course before the night of death approached, mended his pace, and dispatched all sorts of business with more celerity. And as he was visiting his diocese more severely than ever before, God visited him; and as he preached at Lacock upon the words of the apostle, "Walk in the Spirit," death arrested him in the pulpit, from whence he was carried to his bed; where he still continued preaching to all that came to visit him, either by heavenly instructions, or pious ejaculations, or Divine meditations and paraphrases upon the passages of Scripture, which were read unto him, even till at one and the selfsame instant he committed both his hearers and his soul to God.

Valerius Maximus writeth of Sylla, that it was hard to say whether he or his anger were first extinct; for he threatened his enemies dying, and died threatening. But, on the contrary, it may be said of this servant of Christ Jesus, it is hard to determine whether his natural heat or his zeal first was extinguished, whether his prayers or his soul first arrived at heaven; for he died praying, and prayed dying. His last words, worthy to be written with a pen of diamond, never to be rased out, were these: "A crown of righteousness is laid up for me; Christ is my righteousness; this is my body; this day quickly let me come unto Thee, this day let me see Thee, Lord Jesu." He was buried in the midst of the choir, where after he had been interred two years, Dr. Humphrey laid upon him a fair marble stone, with an inscription upon it, containing a brief chronicle of his life; of which monument of that religious professor it may be truly said, as it was of

that which Julius Cæsar raised to Pompey, *Cæsar dum Pompeii statuas erexit suas confirmavit*, "In making this monument to continue the memory of" Jewel, "he eternized his own." But Jewel left himself a second monument, more famous than that,—the library he built in Salisbury; and yet a third, more lasting than either of the former,—his Works here ensuing: whereof these were manuscripts:—1. A paraphrastical Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels through the whole Year. 2. A continuate Exposition of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. 3. A Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians. 4. A Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Peter.

The printed are these:—1. *Anno Dom.* 1550. A Latin Sermon preached at St. Mary's, upon 1 Peter iv. 11. 2. *An. Dom.* 1558. Divers Sermons preached before Queen Elizabeth at Paul's Cross. 3. *An. Dom.* 1559. *Epistola ad Scipionem Patritium Venetum de Causis cur Episcopi Angliæ ad Concilium Tridentinum non convenerint.* 4. *Anno* 1560. A Challenge to all Papists at Paul's Cross; with an Answer to Dr. Cole, in Defence of a Sermon preached before the Queen's Majesty and her most honourable Council. 5. *Anno* 1561. *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.* 6. *Anno* 1562. An Exposition upon the First Epistle to the Thessalonians. 7. *Anno* 1563. An Exposition upon the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians. 8. *Anno* 1564. A Reply to Master Harding's Answer, concerning the seven-and-twenty Articles contained in Master Jewel's Challenge; viz., (1.) Of private Mass; (2.) Communion under both Kinds; (3.) Of Prayer in a strange Tongue; (4.) Of the Supremacy; (5.) Of the real Presence; (6.) Of

Polytopy, or being in many Places at once; (7.) Of the Elevation; (8.) Of Adoration of the Host; (9.) Of carrying the Sacrament under a Canopy; (10.) Of Accidents without Subject; (11.) Of dividing the Sacrament; (12.) Of a Figure in the Sacrament; (13.) Of Plurality of Masses; (14.) Of Adoration of Images; (15.) Of reading the Scripture in the Mother Tongue; (16.) Of Consecration under Silence; (17.) Of the Sacrifice of the Mass; (18.) Of receiving the Communion for others; (19.) Of the Application of Christ's Death by the Mass; (20.) Of *Opus operatum;* (21.) Of the Title of the Sacrament, Lord and God; (22.) Of Remaining under Accidents; (23.) Of Mice eating the Body of Christ; (24.) Of *individuum vagum;* (25.) Of the Form and Shows of Bread and Wine; (26.) Of hiding and covering the Sacrament; (27.) Of Ignorance, whether it be the Mother of Devotion. 9. *Anno* 1565. A Rejoinder to Mr. Harding's Reply. 10. *An:* 1566. A Defence of the Apology of the Church of England. 11. *An.* 1567. An Answer to Mr. Harding's Preface. 12. *An.* 1568. A Treatise of the Sacraments. 13. *An.* 1569. The View of a seditious Bull sent into England. 14. *An.* 1570. A Treatise of the Holy Scriptures.

If any desire to be more familiarly acquainted with Jewel, and to be particularly informed of his method and course of study, his witty and learned discourses at table, his poems and penned speeches in the college, his exercises for his degrees, his holding the golden balances of Minerva before Urania, being Moderator in Divinity disputations in the presence of Queen Elizabeth, at an Act at Oxford; as also, how he attained to that admirable faculty of memory, whereby he was able on the sudden to repeat

chapters of names, read to him backward and forward, broken sentences and exotic words, Welsh, Irish, or any other language, after once or twice reading, at the most; let him read the story of his Life at large in Dr. Humphrey, or at least the abridgment thereof, which I * drew in the year of our Lord 1611, being then Student in Corpus Christi College, at the command of Archbishop Bancroft: which, as soon as it was sent up, was suddenly printed, and prefixed to Jewel's Works, before I had time to revise it. And note the *errata*, which I entreat thee for thine own sake, as well as for mine, thus now to correct:—

Page 5, line 30: "The wisdom of God so ordered this matter," add, "for Jewel's greater honour, and the advantage of the truth." P. 7, l. 10: for "the blessed spouse of Christ," read, "the blessed Husband of the spouse of Christ." P. 8, l. 21: for "Valerius," read "Vellerius." P. 9, l. 16: for "his Apology fell in the year 1566," read "the Defence of his Apology." And l. 23: for "cene," read "scene." P. 12, l. 17: "which is his church," add, "on earth, and set it in a crown of pure gold upon her head in heaven."

The Preface to the King, before the Life, is not mine, but Dr. Overal's, then dean of St. Paul's: the Appendix likewise is not mine, but Doctor Morton's, then Lord Bishop of Duresm [Durham]. The model of the Life drawn by me beginneth thus: "If rare and admirable qualities of our ancestors deserve a thankful acknowledgment of posterity;" and endeth thus: "Lord, adorn and enrich continually Thy

* [The writer of this Life, who here speaks in the first person, was Dr. Featley, as mentioned by Fuller in his Preface.—Ed.]

church with such jewels; deck her cheeks with rows of such rubies, and her neck with chains; make her borders of gold, with studs of silver. Amen."

Holy learning, sacred arts;
Gifts of nature, strength of parts;
Fluent grace, an humble mind;
Worth reform'd, and wit refined;
Sweetness both in tongue and pen;
Insight both in books and men;
Hopes in woe, and fears in weal;
Humble knowledge, sprightly zeal;
A liberal heart, and free from gall;
Close to friends, and true to all;
Height of courage in truth's duel;—
Are the stones that made this JEWEL.
Let him that would be truly blest,
Wear this JEWEL in his breast.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ZEGEDINE,

WHO DIED ANNO CHRISTI 1572.

STEPHEN ZEGEDINE was born in the Lower Pannonia [Hungary], in the year 1505; brought up in learning, wherein he profited to admiration, and became a schoolmaster himself: about which time, hearing the fame of Luther and Melancthon, he had a great mind to go to Wittenberg; but, wanting opportunity in sundry regards, he went to the University at Cracovia [Cracow], where, having studied a while, he was made a reader to others, and grew very famous;

and having gotten some money there, he then went to Wittenberg, where he studied logic and divinity three years, and then returned into his own country. And in the city of Thasniadine he instructed youth in the knowledge of arts, and preached Jesus Christ also to the people, before unknown unto them. Whereupon the king's treasurer fell upon him, beat him, and drove him out of the city. There he lost two hundred books; and was so barbarously kicked by this tyrant with his iron spurs, that he was almost slain.

Thus wandering up and down as an exile, *anno Christi* 1545 he was called to Julia [Gyula]; where he was made governor of an illustrious school: and the year after he was sent for to Cegledine [Szegedin?], where he was hired to preach publicly in the church. There also he married a wife; and after three years' stay he went thence, and was sent for by the governor of Temeswar, to govern the school there; where also he preached to the people. But that governor dying, there succeeded him one that was a strong Papist, who drove Zegedine from thence. Being again an exile, he was called to govern the school at Turin, where he also preached to the people, who eagerly embraced the truth, and loved him exceedingly. From thence he was called to Bekenese, where he also preached to the people, and read in the schools.

Whilst he was there, a countryman coming to him said, "Sir, what do you here, when there are some soldiers coming upon you, to slay you? Therefore fly hence speedily, if you will save your life." Whilst he was speaking, the noise of the soldiers was heard without; whereupon he slipped into his chamber:

but the soldiers, breaking in upon him, plundered him of all he had, and, binding him, carried him away with them. But behold the gracious providence of God: amongst those bloody soldiers there was one that favoured him, and conveyed him away, so that, swimming over a river, he escaped, and returned home again. Shortly after, his fame spreading abroad, he was called to Tolna, to govern a school there; and there also he preached to the people. And his former wife being dead, he married another. And not long after he was chosen to Lascovia [Laszczow], to be the pastor there; and was ordained minister by the imposition of hands; and taught school also. About which time he was made Doctor, and the superintendent of all that barony. He read also in private to many that repaired to him, and intermitted not his pains, no, not in sickness, if he had but strength to speak that his voice might be heard.

Anno Christi 1558 he was removed thence by the authority of the governor of the castles to Calmantsem. *Anno Christi* 1561 the vaivod of Copaswar, with his soldiers, (being Turks,) came upon the inhabitants of Calmantsem for neglecting to pay their tribute, as they were at sermon, and took many of them prisoners, together with Zegedine, and carried them away to Copaswar. The rest that escaped gathered the tribute, carried it presently to the vaivod, entreated his pardon, and the restitution of the prisoners, especially of Zegedine. But he told them, that if they would have them restored to liberty, they must go and petition the bashaw [pasha] for their release: which they doing, the prisoners were presently released. But when they afterwards

accused the vaivod to him of tyranny and injustice, he required that Zegedine and some of the chief citizens should come and testify those things before him. But when Zegedine came, he picked a quarrel with him, and cast him into prison. Whereupon his people by rich presents endeavoured to procure his release; and when they had almost obtained their request, one whispered the bashaw in the ear, and told him that he might have a thousand florins for his ransom: whereupon he still detained him, and told them that he would not release him till they had paid him a thousand florins. But when the money came in slower than he expected, the barbarous tyrant chid his keeper for using him too gently, which, as he said, was the cause that his ransom was not yet paid. Whereupon his keeper bound and whipped him with thongs, till he was bloody all over, and almost killed him.

Afterwards the bashaw promised that if they would procure the release of the daughter of the mayor of Tolna, who was prisoner with the Hungarians, and bring her unto him, he would release Zegedine. Her, therefore, his people of Calmantsem redeemed for three hundred florins, and presented her to the bashaw [pasha]; yet the infidel falsified his promise, and kept him still prisoner. Then the prince of Transylvania sent ambassadors and a rich present to the bashaw, requesting the release of Zegedine; yet nothing would prevail. Many, pitying his miserable captivity, came to visit him, and gave him money; but his cruel keeper extorted most of it from him. Being loaden with heavy chains, the citizens, with much importunity, prevailed to get him leave once a day to come to the Christians, to whom he preached,

and so returned to prison again. Yet God stirred up the hearts of some of the courtiers to commiserate his deplorable condition. During his imprisonment the bashaw used all means, both by threats and promises, to draw him to abjure the Christian religion, and to turn Turk: but he always answered him stoutly, that such arguments might prevail with children, but could not prevail with him. Having leave at last to lie amongst the other prisoners, he wonderfully refreshed and comforted them by his godly exhortations and consolations drawn from the Scriptures, whereby they were much confirmed in the Christian faith: and whereas before they were almost pined through want of food, God so stirred up the hearts of some to bring relief to Zegedine, that all the rest of the prisoners were provided for plentifully thereby.

Remaining thus in prison, he was not idle, but wrote there his Common Places, and some other works. Thus he remained in prison above a year; in which time three of his children died, which added much to his affliction: and though his people had used the intercession of all their great men thereabout for his liberty, yet all prevailed not, till it pleased God that a noble baron and his lady, passing by that way, saw this worthy man of God in so miserable a plight that the lady much pitied him; and afterwards, being in child-bed, and ready to die, she requested her lord (who loved her dearly) for her sake to improve all his interest in the bashaw to procure Zegedine's liberty; which he with an oath promised to perform, and accordingly engaged himself to the Turk that he should pay twelve hundred florins for his ransom. Thereupon he was released, and went about to divers cities to gather his ransom;

and God so enlarged men's hearts towards him, that in a short time he carried eight hundred florins to this baron, and so returned to his people at Calmantsem. The year after, being 1564, as he was going by coach to Buda, when the horses came near the great river Danubius, being very hot and dry, they ran violently into the river: but behold the admirable providence of God! when they had swum some twenty paces in the river, they turned back again, and drew the coach and him safely to the shore.

The same year, by the imposition of hands, he ordained three excellent men ministers. About that time there came a bragging friar, and challenged him to a disputation; which he willingly accepting of, the great church was appointed for the place, and many of both sides resorted thither; and the friar came with much confidence, his servants carrying a great sack of books after him. But in the disputation Zegedine did so baffle him that all his friends shrunk away with shame, and the friar, with his great sack, was left all alone, so that himself was fain to take it on his own shoulders and go his way. About that time the vaivod, who had before betrayed him, coming to the place where Zegedine was, desired to speak with him, and requested him to forgive him, professing that he could rest neither night nor day, he was so haunted with apparitions, and the furies of his own conscience; which Zegedine easily assented unto.

In the year 1566 Zegedine, being very hot, invited a friend to go with him to the river of Danubius to bathe himself: but as they were swimming, his friend, looking about him, saw not Zegedine, and wondering what was become of him so suddenly, at